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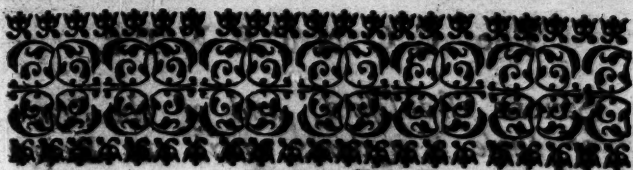
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THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

The Introduction.



UPON finishing the Description of London, I did propose to have enter'd upon the Modern State of the several Counties of England; but as this is not to be collected from any Books that are extant, the Condition of every County almost being very much alter'd in its Buildings, Trade, Manufactures, Husbandry, and many other material Articles, since any Writer of Credit has attempted to give an Account of them, I find my self oblig'd either to survey the several Counties my self, or to establish a Correspondence with some Intelligent People of each County, in order to procure a just Account of their present State. I have made some Progress in both these ways, and have a Prospect of being able to give

VOL. XVI.



The Introduction.

a very exact Description of the Counties of *England* and *Wales* in a short time; such a one as my Readers will esteem an ample Satisfaction for a little Delay in this particular.

The Queries I have sent to my several Correspondents are inserted in this *Introduction*, that if any Gentlemen I am a Stranger to shall think fit to communicate their Observations on any of these Subjects, he may direct them to me at my Booksellers in *London*; and such Notice will be taken of the Favour in this Work, as will be most agreeable to the respective Benefactors.

QUERIES for the County of —

The Face of the Country, whether Plain or Mountainous, Woody, Enclos'd or Open; what Proportion of Arable, Pasture and Meadow; what Forests, Chases, Parks, Moors or Commons, and of what Extent?

The Air, whether Clear or Foggy, Healthful or Sickly?

The Soil, whether Fruitful or Barren?

The several Sorts of Corn and Grain, Grass Seeds, &c. and what late Improvements in Husbandry?

What Animals it is remarkable for, as Oxen, Sheep or Horses, of what Size, and what Numbers there are supposed to be in the County?

What



What Fruit and Timber Trees, Trees for Ornament, &c.

What Rivers Navigable?

The Situation, Form, and Extent of the Chief Towns; their Buildings, whether of the Old or New Model, and the Materials they are compos'd of; whether the Towns are Flourishing or Declining; the Numbers of Parishes, Houses, and Inhabitants?

What Towns or Districts are considerable for Trade and Manufactures; the Annual Value and Quantities of Goods and Wares supposed to be made?

Port-Towns, their Shipping and Foreign Trade?

Noblemens and Gentlemens Families, Seats, Gardens, &c. worth describing.

Antiquities and Curiosities not taken Notice of by others, or misrepresented?

What Minerals, as Tin, Copper, Iron; the Quantity, Value, and manner of Working these Mines, and Number of Hands employ'd?

Where any of these Particulars are well done already, to refer to the Books only where they may be met with.

While these Materials are preparing and digesting, I shall, according to the Method I have observ'd in the Description of other Countries, give a Compendious History of our own. But as on the one Hand I shall exclude all fabulous Relations and trifling Circumstances, I shall on the other endeavour to preserve entire all such Incidents and Occurrences as may deserve the Observation of a Man of Sense; and make some Remarks as I go along on the several Writers who have attempted the History of *England* before me.

It may be expected here, that I should acquaint the World how well qualify'd I am for an Undertaking of this Nature; but my Friend *Rapin* and his Editors, *Dutch*, *French*, and *English*, have said so much in Behalf of his History, that they have really left his Successors in Story nothing to add; or rather, they have so play'd the *Gascons* and Mountebanks in recommending his invaluable Packets to the Publick, that they perfectly surfeit his Readers, and must induce all Men who have a Grain of Sense or Modesty left, industriously to avoid recommending their own Works, and enumerating the Talents they apprehend themselves possess'd of.

They were well acquainted, it seems, with the Foible of the *English*, who are easily captivated by bold Pretenders, and oftner run after a Quack who cures all Distempers with a single Receipt, than a skilful Physician who speaks modestly of his Prescriptions: But possibly they have found their

Account

The Introduction.

Account in the Encomiums given that Writer.

Mr. *Rapin*, indeed, and his Editors, acknowledge, that he was by Principle and Education a *Calvinist* or *Presbyterian*; and consequently an utter Enemy to our Constitution both in Church and State; and attempt to shew, that our Government was originally Republican, and our Church Presbyterian; and yet pretend they are more impartial than any of our *British* Historians. They admit farther, that *Rapin* was a Foreigner, a *French* Refugee, and a Soldier of Fortune; and yet insinuate, he was better acquainted with the Records of this and the rest of the Kingdoms in *Europe*, than the most learned Men in any of them; which shews an uncommon Assurance. But will these Pretences be of Weight with any but the most credulous part of Mankind? As to his having a great Respect for the Church of *England*, as is pretended, and always, or occasionally, communicating with it; the latter was necessary to the preserving his Commission, for without receiving that Sacrament he wou'd have been disqualify'd to serve, and if he attended this Ordinance at other Times, whether it was not out of his abundant Caution, least he might one time or other lose his Commission by too strict an Adherence to the Sectaries, I leave to the Judgment of his Readers, who cannot but discover an apparent Partiality towards the Republican Faction in his Writings, such a Bias as entirely destroys all their Claims to a disinterested Conduct.

But

But to shew that I do not without Reason charge Mr. *Rapin* and his Editors with acting the *Gascons* in their Prefaces to that History, give me Leave to recite the following Lines in their *English* Preface to the first Pamphlet, wherein they say, *Besides our English Historians, Mr. Rapin has carefully consulted and examined Foreign Historians, whether they wrote in Latin, French, Italian, or Spanish: But the greatest Assistance, and what no English Historian had ever the Advantage of before him, has been from the vast Collection of Publick Acts by Mr. Rymer, in seventeen large Folio's; by these he has been enabled,*

1. To correct the Dates of numberless Facts.
2. To discover Multitudes of Mistakes in the best English, Scotch, French, Italian and Spanish Historians.
3. To determine upon many Occasions the Differences and Disputes among Historians.
4. To insert in his History several Events which are either wholly omitted or but slightly mention'd by others.

Upon these and many other Accounts it is that this History is to be distinguish'd from all that have been publish'd before Rymer's *Fœdera*.

But what are the mighty Secrets he has discover'd in these pretended *Latin, French, Italian* and *Spanish* Authors, that our *English* Historians were ignorant of? Where are the Corrections of the Dates of these numberless Facts? Where are the many Disputes among the Historians of the several Nations of *Europe* determin'd? Are they not left just as intricate and doubtful as they were before? Upon what Account therefore is it, that this History is to be distinguish'd from all others that have hitherto
been

been publish'd, unless its being blended with a great many Novels, which I shall have Occasion to take Notice of hereafter, be a Recommendation of it?

As to the Impartiality of Mr. *Rapin*, and the rest of the Compilers of this notable Work, every Page almost will evince the contrary; none but a *Calvinist* or *Republican*, Men of their own Principles, can ever think them impartial; 'tho' nothing is more common indeed than for People to call a History impartial that is written in their Favour: they will infallibly declare it impartial to justify their own Conduct and Principles. But to give some Instances of the Partiality of *Rapin*, his Associates, Translators and Editors.

Mr. *Tindal*, speaking of the *Anglo Saxon* Constitution, in his Notes, Vol. 2. p. 141. says, *That the great Lords held their Seignories of the Publick or Kingdom, AND NOT OF THE KING; And that this shews the true Nature of the Royal Power, and the Measures of Obedience.*

It is said by *Rapin*, Vol. 2. p. 184. *That the Saxon Government in Germany was Aristocratical, and that they had only a Superior or General, who commanded their Armies in Time of War. That the Saxon Leaders in Britain, who assum'd the Title of Kings, were consider'd at first by their Subjects upon the same Foot with their Governors in Germany.*

Tindal, in his Notes on *Rapin*, Vol. 2. p. 185. says, *As the Earls held their Earldoms OF THE COMMUNITY, AND NOT*

OF THE KING, there is no doubt but they were both made and turn'd out with the Consent of the Great Council.

Mr. Rapin, Vol. 14. p. 398, says, The Government of England is the same which was formerly establish'd thro' all the Kingdoms of Europe, (by the Northern Nations). The English have preserv'd the Form of their Government ever since their settling in Great Britain; whereas in other Nations it has been either lost by Degrees or entirely altered.

That the Kings of England, Successors to William the Conqueror, had sworn to restore the Saxon Constitution, and were most of them perjur'd in evading and falsifying their Oaths, and the Barons consequently justify'd in the Resistance they made. And that all our Kings who have been depriv'd were justly depos'd, Vol. 14. p. 401, & Seq.

He charges King James I. and all the Stuarts his Descendants, with Designs to render themselves Arbitrary, and to subvert the Constitution, Vol. 14. p. 406. & Seq.

In the Character Rapin gives Queen Anne, he says, She was educated in the Principles of the RIGID TORIES in regard to Religion, and in all Appearance in those of the FURIOUS TORIES with regard to Government, Vol. 14. p. 423. And again,

Anne was of no great Capacity, and naturally self-will'd: The Meaness of her Genius presag'd the Power which her Ministry wou'd have in the Government, whenever she shou'd ascend the Throne, *ibid.*

In

- In Page 425, of the same Volume, he says, *The Tories were carried to such Excesses (in the Reign of Queen Anne) against the Presbyterians, as no well-modell'd Government ought ever to countenance, which her Ministers affected to connive at.*

In Page 427 he charges Queen Anne's Ministers with a form'd Design of bringing in the Pretender; which he says was the Occasion of their striking up a dishonourable Peace with France. Adding, *That if Queen Anne had not dy'd, the oppress'd Whiggs wou'd have been necessitated to call in the Elector of Hanover to their Assistance, as they had formerly the Prince of Orange.* Page 452 he says, **THE TORIES IN GENERAL** are fierce and haughty. The Whiggs are treated by them with the utmost Contempt and Rigour; comparing the Behaviour of the Tories towards the Whiggs to that of the Roman Catholicks towards the Protestants in Countries where the former have the Advantage of Numbers and the Support of the Government. And it is observable, that in all our Wars with the Scots, French, or Dutch, this Historian ever makes the English in the Wrong. Thus much I thought fit to observe here as a Specimen of the Impartiality of Rapin and his Associates; and propose in the Course of the History to give some Answer to these and a Multitude of other Calumnies and Misrepresentations we meet with in that admir'd Performance; and believe it will be no difficult Matter to demonstrate, that Monsieur Rapin, was not the Sole Author of the Work that bears his Name, and that indeed he

had no Hand in some of the last Volumes.

If we may judge of the Authors of this precious History from the Principles advanced, and the Facts related in it, I shou'd be inclin'd to think it was work'd up by a Club or Society of *Dutch Calvinists, French Hugonots, and British Presbyterians or Cameronians.*

That *Rapin* was not the sole Author of it is pretty evident, he never having spent three Years together in *England*, or six Years in the whole; and in *Germany*, where he is suppos'd to have compos'd it, he cou'd never be furnish'd with those numerous *English* Tracts cited in this History: I can't discern he has omitted any Fact or Circumstance that may advance the Interest of *Whiggism* in this Kingdom: We find here a Summary of all the *Presbyterian* and *Republican* Schemes and Writings that ever were publish'd; which 'tis presum'd cou'd never have been collected and digested by a single Foreigner at that Distance, and by one who scarce ever spent three Years together amongst us.

The various Accounts also given of the Periods to which this History was continu'd by *Rapin*, renders it very suspicious that the whole was not of his Compiling.

The Editors, in one of their Prefaces, assure us, that he concluded his History with the Death of King *Charles* the First. In another, that he continu'd it to the Restoration of King *Charles* the Second: and in

a third, that he brought it down to the Revolution in 1688. The three last Volumes were found in his Study in Manuscript long after he was dead, they tell us ; but how such a Quantity as three large Volumes in Manuscript came to be over-look'd for several Years, and the World never acquainted with their Existence till it was observ'd how the former had sold, is not easy to account for.

Again, we find a great many Pages recited *verbatim* in the two last Volumes of *Rapin*, out of a Book that was publish'd in *England* in the Year 1724 ; and as his Editors inform us that he dy'd on the 16th of *May*, 1725, and that his Strength was quite exhausted long before : If we consider the Book quoted was publish'd in *England* but very little before his Death, and afterwards sent into *Germany* to *Rapin* before he cou'd cite any Passages out of it, the last two Volumes must have been compos'd within less than Half a Year before he dy'd to make him the Author of them : Which may be look'd upon as extraordinary an Occurrence as any we meet with in that celebrated History, especially if we consider further, that he was sixteen Years in his Health and Strength composing the first twelve Volumes, as his *English* Editors have assur'd us in an Advertisement prefix'd to their First Pamphlet.

But whoever were the Authors of the History which goes under *Rapin's* Name, the principal Drift in publishing it apparently

rently was to insinuate, that *England* is an Elective Kingdom; that the People have a Right to resist, and even depose their King when his Administration is not agreeable to their Humour, or the Notions they entertain of the publick Good: For they speak positively of the Elections of almost all the Kings that ever sat upon the Throne of *England*, as if never any of them claim'd the Crown by Descent or Inheritance. And they have dress'd up the Story in such a pleasing Form, that young People read it as greedily as they would a Novel or a Play, not considering the Tendency of it: As *Shakespear* is observ'd to have introduc'd a great deal of our *English* History into his Plays, so here we find Poetry and Fiction intermix'd with our History; the main Design to establish Presbyterian and Republican Principles; and generally an Underplot, consisting of some Amorous Intrigue, where pretty feign'd Speeches are put into the Parties Mouths, to amuse and divert the gentle Reader, whenever he may be supposed to be wearied with contemplating their fulsome Politicks. But whether the reading of a Play or Novel purely to pass away an idle Hour, be not a more innocent Employment than the perusing such a pretended History, which only serves to put a wrong Bias on our Understandings in Matters of Consequence, will hardly bear a Question.

The Reason I have dwelt so long upon *Rapin* in this Introduction is, because I design

design to animadvert on the false Notions that Tract was calculated to inspire us with (in the following History) as I meet with them interspers'd in the several Reigns and Periods there treated of. But I am not without Hopes, that some Friend to our excellent Constitution, better qualify'd for such an Undertaking, and who has more Leisure upon his Hands, will exert himself in Defense of it; for it is not consistent with a Work of that general Nature I am engag'd in, to follow these pretended Patriots through all their Shifts and Doublings, artfully contriv'd, to eradicate the Principles we have hitherto entertain'd in relation to Religion and Government, and to establish *Dutch* or *Cameronian* Schemes and Maxims in their Stead. But to proceed.

Whether this Nation receiv'd the antient ^{The} Name of *ALBION*, or *ALPION*, ^{Names} *ab Alpīs Rupibus*, from the White Rocks of *Albion* that discover themselves on approaching its ^{and Bri-} Shoars from the Continent: Or the Name ^{tain from} of *Britain* from *Britb*, which signified paint- ^{whence} ed or stain'd in the Language of the Na- ^{deriv'd.} tives, who painted their Bodies with the Juice of Woad, making them of a Sky colour'd Blue; or whether the Word *Britain* was derived from *Baratanack*, or *Bratanack*, which in the Language of the *Phœnicians*, who are said to have traded hither, signified a *Land of Tin*, a Mineral for which this Island was famous in those early Ages, when the *Phœnician* Merchants flourish'd;
or

or from the Word *Brydio*, which in the *British* Language signified Heat or Fury, alluding either to the Heat and violent Motion of its Seas, or the hasty Passionate Temper of its Inhabitants: Whether any of these Conjectures ought to be receiv'd, and which of them carries the greatest Air of Probability with it, has been consider'd already. (*Modern History*, Vol. 14. p. 2.)

The
Name of
England.

As to the Modern Name of *ENGLAND*, by which the South part of *Great Britain* is known at present, this, it is generally held, was derived from the *Angles*, or *Anglo Saxons*, who first inhabited *Sleswick*, or *Jutland*, and afterwards driving the Inhabitants of *South Britain* from their Country, re-peopled it with *Saxons*, or *Germans*, giving it the Name of the Country from whence they came; for tho' the *Angles* were but a small part of those *Saxons* who planted themselves in *Britain*, yet being the first or most considerable Tribe that was concern'd in those Expeditions, the South part of *Britain* receiv'd its Modern Name from them. But I refer the Reader to the Fourteenth Volume of *Modern History*, p. 6, for further Satisfaction in this Article, as well as for the Geographical Description of the Country.

The

The *Phœnicians*, or *Tyrians*, the antient Uncertain whether the first of all Nations who were considerable *Phœnicians* ever for Navigation and Foreign Traffick, it is said, visited this Island, and exported great Quantities of Tin from hence ; which must have been a tedious and hazardous Voyage, as they were oblig'd to creep along the Shores of *Greece* or *Africk*, of *France* and *Spain*, and durst never venture far from Land, having no Compass to steer by. And whether at last they did not receive our Tin by the way of *France* and *Spain*, may very well be question'd, not only from the Difficulty and Hazard of the Voyage from *Syria* to *Britain*, but from their Ignorance, or rather Silence, in relation to the Island it self, and its Inhabitants ; for we learn no more, either from the *Phœnicians*, or the *Greeks*, who imitated them in their Navigation and distant Discoveries, than that there was such a Country as *Britain*, which lay to the Northward of *France* and *Spain*, and that it afforded Tin ; which they might as well inform themselves of from the *Gauls*, with whom it is allow'd the *Britons* traded, as from the *Britons* themselves. It is very surprizing, if the *Phœnicians* or *Greeceans* (learned and inquisitive Nations) had visited

the

the Coasts of *Britain* frequently, that they shou'd know no more of the Place or People, than that there were Tin-Mines in the Country: Had they traded to *Britain* it self, they wou'd surely have given us some Relation of the Customs and Manners of the Inhabitants, we shou'd have receiv'd earlier Accounts of them; our Historians wou'd not have found themselves under a Necessity of beginning their respective Histories with the Invasion of the *Romans*, as the best of them do, rejecting the Fable of *Brute* and his *Trojans*, and indeed every other Relation preceeding that of *Cesar's*; in which, as I cannot but approve their Conduct, I shall take leave to imitate them.



on the other hand, we learn no more, either from ancient or the Greeks, who imitated them in their Navigations and distant Discoveries, than that there was such a Country as *Britain*, which lay to the Northward of *France* and *Spain*, and that it afforded Tin; which they might as well inform themselves of from the *Celtæ*, with whom it is allow'd the *Britons* traded; as from the *Barbarians* themselves. It is very surprising, if the *Phœnicians* or *Greeks* (and indeed the *Romans*) had visited the

THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

CHAP. VII.

*Contains the HISTORY of ENGLAND
from the first Invasion of the Romans,
to their abandoning the Country, be-
ing about the space of 500 Years.*



CAIUS JULIUS CAESAR, who first invaded Britain and penetrated into the Country, was most capable of giving us an Account of that Expedition, and of the Manners of the People he found here.

Anno
Mundi
3897.
Ante
Christum
53.

This Great Man relates, that having made a short Campaign upon the Rhine, he determined to transport a Body of Troops into Britain the latter End of the Summer; because he understood that the Gauls receiv'd Reinforcements from thence, in almost all their

Cesar's
Inducements to
Invade
Britain.

Wars with the *Romans*. And notwithstanding it was late in the Year, he proposed that it would be some Advantage to him, to acquaint himself with the Ports and Avenues to the Country, and the Strength of the Natives, of which the *Gauls* could not, or would not, give him any satisfactory Account. The Merchants whom he had assembled for that purpose, could neither inform him of what Extent the Island was, how many Nations inhabited it, what Forces they had, or which of their Ports was most commodious for a Fleet of Ships. He commanded *Volusennus* therefore to go on-board a Galley, and sail upon the Coast of *Britain*, and having made what Discoveries he could, to return to him with all possible Expedition. In the mean time *Cæsar* assembled his Troops in *Flanders*, ordering his Fleet to rendezvous on the same Coast, because it lay but a little distance from the *British* Shores.

Re-
marks
upon it.

Whether *Cæsar* had any other Views in this Expedition to *Britain* than he is pleased to declare, as his Enemies afterwards insinuated, is not easy to determine at this Distance of Time. But if there was such a constant Intercourse between the *Gauls* and *Britons* as *Cæsar* suggests, and that the *Britons* assisted the *Gauls* with their Forces, in almost all their Wars, it is scarce imaginable that the *Gauls* could be so ignorant of the Affairs of *Britain*, or unacquainted with the Ports upon the *British* Coast. They might not know the Dimensions and Extent of the Island, or what Nations inhabited the Northern Parts of it; but they must be better acquainted with the South, which he intended to attack: And one would think there should have been some

few



few Britons left in Gaul of the many Troops they sent over, from whom he might have satisfied his Curiosity, if he could not from the Gauls themselves. Upon the whole it seems pretty apparent, that either the Britons had not assisted the Gauls in their Wars, as *Cæsar* relates, or he could not have been entirely a Stranger to them or their Country. Nay, he must have made some of them Prisoners in his Gallick Wars, and been tollerably acquainted with their Forces, and their manner of engaging an Enemy. Which has given some Occasion to think, that the Reason of *Cæsar's* charging the Britons with assisting the Gauls, was only that he might have a Colour to invade the Island, and give his Enterprize an Appearance of Justice. And as it is not one Time in a Thousand that the People are acquainted with the true Motives of entering into a War, but some specious Pretence is ever laid hold of to induce them to bear the Burthen of it; so very probably it was in the time of the Romans: The People might know as little of the true Reason of that War, as the generality of us do of some Wars which have been entered into in our Times. But to return to *Cæsar*.

He says, that his Design being discover'd *Cæsar* to the Britons by the Merchants, Ambassadors came from several British Cities, offering to submit to the Romans and to deliver him Hostages, to whom he made liberal Promises, and exhorted them to continue in the same Mind; that he sent home with them *Comius*, whom he had made King of the *Atrebatæ*, (*Artois*) on whose Courage and Fidelity he could rely, and who had great Authority in those Parts: He gave him Instructions to vi-

K. Comius
to the
British
Princes.

fit as many Cities as he could, and encourage them to remain faithful to the *Romans*. *Volusenus* having taken a View of the *British* Coasts, in five Days return'd to *Cæsar*, who had then fourscore Ships of Burthen at the Place of Rendezvous, and as many small Vessels as were sufficient to transport two Legions. There were also eighteen Ships more at about eight Miles distance, which the contrary Winds prevented joining him; and on these he order'd his Horse to embark and follow him.

Cæsar set sail from *Flanders* about twelve at Night, and at ten the next Morning came upon the Coast of *England*, where he saw the *British* Troops drawn up in Battalia upon the Hills (about *Dover* as is generally supposed.) Here he came to an Anchor till three in the Afternoon, to give the rest of his Fleet time to join him; and not finding this a proper Place to land, because the Enemy might have a great Advantage of him by their Darts and other missive Weapons, before he could recover the Tops of the Hills, he summon'd his principal Officers on Board, and having given them Instructions how they should behave themselves in their intended Descent, he set Sail, and arrived at an open Shore about eight Miles from thence (supposed to be the Coast about *Deal*; but such great Alterations have been since made by an Inundation which destroy'd *Earl Godwin's* Lands, now call'd *Goodwin Sands*, that the exact Place of his Landing must be very uncertain.) The *Barbarians*, (as *Cæsar* styles the *Britons*) met the *Romans* with their Horse and Chariots upon their attempting to land, and were supported by their Foot, which put him to great Difficulties,

Cæsar's
Account
of the
Descent.

culties, for his Ships were so large that they could not come near the Shore, and the Soldiers being loaded with heavy Arms, and to walk a great way almost up to the Neck in Water, while the Enemy charged them from the Shore, his Men were very much discourag'd; which *Caesar* observing, commanded his Gallies to row in close to the Shore, and gall the Enemy with their Arrows to favour the Descent. This had its desir'd Success, and made the *Britons* remove to a greater Distance; but the Soldiers still hesitating, the Standard-Bearer of the tenth Legion, invoking the Gods to prosper his Attempt, leapt into the Sea with his Colours, and advanced directly towards the Enemy; whereupon the *Roman* Soldiers of the same Ship unanimously followed him, and others joined them, who were attacked to some Disadvantage till they could form their Ranks. Whereupon *Caesar* commanded the Boats to be fill'd with Soldiers to support those that were marching to the Shore; and his Troops no sooner came upon the dry Ground and had put themselves in order of Battle, but the Enemy retired, and desired a Parley, wherein they promised to give Hostages, and submit to *Caesar's* Terms. They also released *Comius* King of *Antois*, whom *Caesar* had sent into *Britain* (as was observed before) to influence some *British* Cities in his Favour: Some of the Hostages were actually delivered, and several Princes came in and desired *Caesar's* Protection.

It appears very strange, that *Caesar* should Repretend to have no Knowledge of the *Britons* marks or their Country, when he tells us, that he upon it sent over *Comius*, whom he had made King
of

of *Artois*, to visit the *British* Cities, who had great Authority and Interest among that People. Surely *Comius* could have little Authority or Influence on the *Britons*, if he had no Knowledge of them; and if he had, it is highly improbable he should conceal his Knowledge from so great a Benefactor as *Cæsar* had been to him. No, this was said more to amuse the *Roman* People, and magnifie the Glory of the Expedition, than for the sake of Truth. Had *Cæsar* acquainted the World that he had perfect Intelligence of the Weakness of the *Britons*, compar'd with the *Roman* Legions; that they were divided into abundance of small Kingdoms, and at Wars among themselves; that he had himself sown the Seeds of Dissention among them, and many of them had offer'd their Submission, and were actually in the *Roman* Interest; had all this been discover'd, Where had been the Glory of this Enterprize upon *Britain*? What had *Cæsar* done more than the Commander of a single Legion might have done?

Again, *Cæsar* is pleas'd to tell us, that his Soldiers, heavily arm'd, were forced to leap down from their Ships into the Sea, and to march up to the Neck to engage the Enemy on the Shore. This seems still to be with a Design to insinuate how bold and daring the Attempt was. But whether these Facts were true or not, it is very evident that *Cæsar* might have landed his Men without all this trouble if he had pleas'd. I don't find in the first place, that he was under any Necessity of landing just in the Face of the Enemy, if he had apprehended any hazard in doing it. But admitting he was, he himself tells us, that

that he had Galleys and small Boats which could come close to the Shore; and *Cæsar* was too great a General not to have made use of these in the Descent, if he had found any Necessity of doing it: But he knew very well there was only a raw undisciplin'd Militia, no regular Troops to engage with, and therefore had no Occasion to use much Stratagem, he landed as he pleased, and his Troops were no sooner form'd on the Shore, but he tells us, the *Britons* fled, as was very natural to suppose they would; for their is scarce an Instance to be met with, where a rude naked People were ever able to oppose regular Troops, especially when they were led by such a General as *Cæsar*. I am willing to indulge my Countrymen in the Opinion they have of the Valour of the *Britons* their Ancestors; but I think it is a great Argument too of their good Sense, that they did not apprehend themselves a Match for *Cæsar* and his *Roman* Legions. But to return to our History.

Cæsar proceeds to inform us, that the Fleet he had order'd to transport the Horse was dispers'd in a Storm, and oblig'd to return to the Continent again the same Night, it being full Moon, which occasions great Tides in the Ocean, of which his People were ignorant; the Flood fill'd all his Galleys in which he design'd to transport his Troops, and were drawn up upon the Shore; his great Ships which lay at Anchor were shatter'd, and many of them lost their Anchors and Rigging; and what added to his Misfortune was, he had no Provisions to enable him to Winter here.

The

The *Bri-*
tons re-
assemble
their
Forces.

The *British* Princes also understanding the Distress he was reduc'd to, and observing that his Troops were not very numerous, and appeared still less, being transported to *Britain* without their Baggage, they enter'd into a Confederacy against him; and withdrawing themselves from *Cæsar's* Camp one after another, began to assemble their Forces again.

He had not yet any Intelligence of their Designs, but considering the Misfortune which had befallen his Ships, and the Delays they made in sending in their Hostages, he suspected what the Event would be; he brought all the Corn he could meet with in the Country into his Camp, and applyed himself diligently to repair part of his Fleet with the Ships that were most disabled, and sent for Supplies from the Continent, and in a short time he found his Fleet in a Condition to sail with the loss only of twelve Vessels, which he had us'd in resisting the rest.

Fall up-
on his
Foragers.

In the mean time the seventh Legion going out to forage; and being dispersed about the Fields, the Out-guards of the Camp brought Advice that they discover'd a greater Dust than usual towards the Place the Legion marched to; whereupon *Cæsar* suspecting the Occasion, took with him two Cohorts that were upon Duty, and ordered the rest of the Army to follow immediately. He had not march'd far from the Camp, but he saw his Men hard press'd by the Enemy, being gall'd on every Side by their Darts; but standing close and in pretty good Order. It seems, most of the Corn of the Country was carried in other Parts, and only this Place left untouch'd, whether by Design or Accident is uncertain; but here the *Bri-*

tons

tons expected the *Romans* would forage, and accordingly had formed an Ambuscade in the neighbouring Woods, where they had lain all the preceding Night, and when they saw the Soldiers had laid down their Arms, and were busy in reaping the Corn, they set upon them on a sudden and kill'd some few of them before they could draw up and form themselves.

Here *Cæsar* describes the manner of the *British* Britons engaging with their Chariots or open Chariots. Waggon; they at first moved up and down the Field and threw their Darts, he acquaints us, and by the Fierceness of their Horses and the Rattling of their Wheels disorder'd an Enemy; then they would wind themselves in among the Ranks, and leaping from their Chariots fight on Foot, so that in a Battle they had the Swiftnes of the Horse, and the Steadiness of the Infantry, and were so very expert in driving that they would stop or turn short in a full Carier even upon the Declivity of a Hill.

As soon as the Enemy saw *Cæsar* advancing, they made a Halt, and did not think fit to pursue the Legion any further, and *Cæsar* remaining some time upon the Place to give the Straglers an Opportunity to join him, return'd to his Camp, without any further Action. The Weather being very tempestuous about this time; the *Romans* kept close in their Camp, which the *Britons* attributing to the Distress they were reduced to, dispatched Expresses far and near, to give an Account of their Condition, desiring the distant Princes to assemble all the Forces they could, and join them, for now they had an Opportunity of recovering their Liberties, and

driving the *Romans* out of their Country; which Intelligence soon brought together a great multitude of the *Britons*. *Cæsar* drew up his Troops before his Camp, and received their Charge unmoved, and having entirely dispersed them again, his Men pursued the *Britons* as far as they saw fit, but being Foot and heavy arm'd, the Slaughter could not be very great; for *Cæsar* yet had no more than thirty Horse, which his Friend and Allie *Comius* had brought over from some of the *British* Princes in the *Roman* Interest.

The *Britons* make their Submission again.

Cæsar having burnt and plunder'd the Country about him, returned to his Camp; and the same Day the Enemy sent to make New Proposals of Peace; whereupon he required double the number of Hostages he had insisted on before, directing them to be sent after him to the Continent; for the Equinox was near, and he apprehended that it might be dangerous sailing afterwards in his crazy Ships: Therefore the Weather and Wind serving, he took the first Opportunity of embarking his Troops, and arrived at the Continent without any farther loss. *Cæsar* sending an Express to *Rome* with an Account of his *British* Expedition, the Senate decreed a Supplication of one and twenty Days, (this was fifty three Years before the Birth of our Saviour, *Lucius Domitius* and *Appius Claudius* being Consuls.) *Cæsar* some time after left his Army in their Winter Quarters in *Gaul*, and went to *Italy* as he us'd to do every Year, giving orders for building some new Ships, and refitting the rest against his return; and gave particular orders for the making them broader and lower, that they might serve the better for transporting his Troops, and making

king a Descent; and directed that they should be all made for rowing.

Notwithstanding *Cæsar* seems to represent Re- the *Britons* as a treacherous deceitful People, marks who would take all Advantages of him upon there- the Loss of his Fleet; possibly the Reason of upon. their reassembling their Troops was, the cutting down their Corn and carrying it into his Camp, after he had engag'd to take them into his Protection. This was such a Method of protecting them, as the *Britons* were not, till then, acquainted with; and no wonder it occasion'd ill Blood, and put them upon retaliating the Injury on his Foragers. As to the Form of their Chariots, and their Manner of engaging, *Cæsar* is not so particular as could be wish'd; I must confess, I have no tolerable Notion of the one or the other: His Aim seems to be chiefly to represent them as very terrible Machines, that he might acquire the more Glory, by his Address, in defeating a People who made War after so unheard of a Manner; and though the Account of it might be something unintelligible, probably, there was not a *Roman* who did not derive some Honour to himself from the mighty Victories which were said to be obtain'd by his Fellow-Citizens, over the poor divided naked *Britons*.

Cæsar returning into *Gaul* in the Spring, *Cæsar's* found above six hundred Sail of Ships pro- second- provided for his *British* Expedition at Port *Iccinus*, which some hold to be *Bologna*, others Expedi- on into *Britain*. *Calais*, (however, it is said to be but thirty Miles from *Britain*,) here *Cæsar* embark'd with five Legions and two thousand Horse, and setting sail about Midnight, found himself, the next Day, driven by the Tide a great

Ante
Christum
52.

great way from the Place he had landed at the Year before; but by help of their Oars, and the turning of the Tide, they came again upon the same Shore about Noon, where he landed without any Opposition, no Enemy appearing; though he understood by his Prisoners, that the *British* Troops had been there a little before, but seeing such a prodigious Fleet, amounting in all small and great, to near eight hundred Sail, they had retired, thinking it in vain to oppose his Descent.

Cæsar having fortified his Camp, and inform'd himself where the Body of the Enemies Troops lay, left ten Cohorts and three hundred Horse for its Defence, and began his March towards them about Midnight: After a March of twelve Miles, he came in sight of the Enemy, whom he found drawn up on the Declivity of a Hill, by the Side of a River, (supposed to be the River *Stower*) here they made a Stand, and ventur'd to engage the *Roman* Army; but they were soon defeated, and driven into the Woods, where they had fortified a Place after their rude manner, by Trees cut down and laid a-cross to a considerable Height; but the seventh Legion throwing up a Mount, and covering themselves with their Shields, made themselves Masters of it, with inconsiderable Loss. *Cæsar* not being acquainted with the Country, would not suffer his People to continue the Pursuit, but spent the Remainder of the Day in marking out and fortifying his Camp; and the Day after, sent out three strong Detachments in search of the Enemy; however, he soon after recall'd them upon Intelligence that most of his Ships the Night before

before had been shatter'd by a Tempest and driven ashore; whereupon he return'd to his Shipping, and found them in a very wretched Condition; but observ'd, that by taking forty of them to Pieces, he should with a great deal of Labour be able to refit the rest; he sent therefore for Carpenters from the Continent, and encouraged those he had in his Legions to set themselves to work, inso-much that he repaired the Damage in about ten Days time; and to prevent the like Misfortune for the future, drew all his Vessels on Shore, and enclosed them within his Camp, leaving them under the same Guard he had done before.

The Britons upon *Cæsar's* Retreat; assembled all their Forces, and repossessed themselves of their former Camp; and the Government of the whole Kingdom, as well as the Conduct of the Army, was by universal Consent conferr'd upon *Cassibelan*, whose proper Territories were separated from the more civiliz'd Britons by the River *Thames*, and lay about fourscore Miles from the Sea. *Cassibelan* had been in continual Wars with his Neighbours, till the *Roman* Invasion, but the several Princes now apprehending themselves in Danger of being subdued by a Foreign Power, unanimously submitted to his Government.

The Britons unite under *Cassibelan*.

The British Horse and Chariots had several sharp Disputes with the *Roman* Horse upon the March; but were always defeated, and forc'd to retire to their Hills and Woods: Many of them were kill'd, but the *Romans* pursuing too eagerly, were also some of them cut off; And while *Cæsar* was busy in throwing up Intrenchments, and fortifying

ing his Camp, the *Britons* sallied out of the Woods again, and attack'd the Troops plac'd to guard the Works, whom *Cæsar* sustain'd with two Cohorts; but the *Britons* broke through and through them, and retired without much Loss. In this Engagement *Q. Laberius Durus*, a Military Tribune, was kill'd; but a fresh Reinforcement being sent to their Assistance, the Enemy was repulsed.

In this Action, which happen'd just before the Camp in the View of all, it was observ'd, that the *Roman* Foot, being heavy arm'd, durst not separate from their Body to pursue those that fled; and the Horse also engaged under great Disadvantages, for the Enemy would sometimes retreat out of Design, till they had broken their Order, and then return to the Charge again: Their Charioteers would also leap from their Chariots, and fight on Foot among their Horse, which made the Dispute unequal: Their Horse fought in the same Manner, it was observ'd, when they retired as when they advan'd: They never engaged in great Bodies close together, but in small Parties with Intervals between, and had always a Body of reserve to support those that were engag'd, and favour their Retreat.

A general Battle wherein the *Britons* were defeated.

The next Day the Enemy appear'd at a great Distance upon the Hills, and did not seem so inclin'd to engage the *Roman* Horse as the Day before: But about Noon, *Cæsar* having sent out all his Horse to forage under a Guard of three entire Legions, the *Britons* on a sudden fell upon the Foragers with the greatest Fury, charging up to the very Standards of the Legions; but they were repulsed

repulsed, and the Horse being well supported by the Legions, drove them Headlong before them, not giving them an Opportunity to rally or dismount from their Chariots, as they us'd to do, and the Number of the kill'd and wounded appear'd to be very great. After this Defeat, the *British* Forces which came from the greatest Distance, return'd home, and they never engaged the *Romans* afterwards in a general Battle.

Cæsar understanding their Army was separated, continued his March to the River *Thames*, the Boundary of *Cassibelan's* Dominions, which was only fordable in one Place, and that with great Difficulty (this is supposed to be at *Coway Stakes* near *Oatlands*.) When he arriv'd there he observ'd a great Body of Troops drawn up on the opposite Bank, which was defended by sharp Stakes or Palisades, as well as the Bottom of the River; however, he order'd his Horse immediately to take the River, and the Legions to follow; and this was executed with such Alacrity, that though their Heads only were above the Water, the Enemy could not bear the Shock, but forsook the Banks of the River and fled.

Cassibelan now despairing of any Success from a general Engagement, dismissed the greatest Part of his Forces, reserving only four thousand Chariots to harraß the *Romans* in their March, concealing himself in the Woods, and the most inaccessible Part of the Country, and falling upon *Cæsar's* Troops when he found them separated or embarrassed in any Defiles; he drove all the People and the Cattle out of the Country through which the *Romans* were to march, and if any Parties

of

of Horse ventur'd to advance before the Body, he pour'd down upon them with his Chariots out of the Woods by all the Ways and Avenues, with which he was well acquainted; whereupon *Cæsar* order'd his Horse to keep close to the Legions, without making any Excursions, but to destroy all the Corn and Houses in their way.

*British
Cities
revolt
to the
Romans.*

In the mean time the *Trinobantes* (the People of *Middlesex* and *Essex*) sent Ambassadors to treat with *Cæsar*; *Immanuentius* their King had been kill'd by *Cassibelan*, and his Son *Mandubratius* had fled over to *Cæsar* into *Gaul*: This People desired *Cæsar*'s Protection against *Cassibelan*, and that he would send over their young Prince *Mandubratius* and restore him to his Kingdom; with which *Cæsar* complied, upon Condition they would bring him forty Hostages, and supply his Army with Corn: And this they readily perform'd. The *Canimagni*, *Segonticai*, *Aucalites*, *Bibroci*, and *Cassi* followed their Example, and put themselves under *Cæsar*'s Protection. (These were some petty Princes in the Neighbourhood of his Army, but 'tis very uncertain what Part of the Country he means.) By these *Cæsar* understood *Cassibelan*'s Chief Town (*Verulam*) was not far distant, that it was surrounded with Woods and Morasses, and that a Multitude of People with their Cattle were fled thither for their Security. (The *Britons*, *Cæsar* observ'd, call'd any Place a Town about which they had thrown up a Ditch, and encompassed it with a Barricade of Trees.) Hither *Cæsar* came, and found the Place very strong by Art, as well as Nature; he storm'd it however in two Places, and the *Britons* not being able to stand

Cassibelan's Capital storm'd

stand the Shock of the Roman Soldiers, retired and fled out on the other Side of the Fort-taken. tress; many of them being kill'd in the Pursuit, and several Prisoners taken, besides great Herds of Cattle.

Cassibelan in the mean time to divert *Cæsar* *Cæsar's* from this Enterprize, had sent his Orders to *Camp at-* four of the *Kentish* Kings, viz. *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagalus*, and *Segonax*, to assemble all their Forces, and storm *Cæsar's* Naval Camp; but they were repulsed by the *Romans*, and *Cingetorix* made Prisoner. *Cassibelan* upon the News of this Defeat, being *Cæsar* mov'd also by the Destruction of his own *Peace* Territories, and the Revolt of so many of his Confederates, offered to submit upon *with Cassibelan* Terms, which were settled by the Mediation of King *Comius*; for *Cæsar* considering that the Summer was almost spent, and being determined to Winter in *Gaul*, thought he could not do better than accept of Hostages, and a Tribute to be paid to the Roman People, and procure the Establishment of his Friend and Ally *Mandubratius* King of the *Trinobantes*, whom he engaged *Cassibelan* not to molest.

Therefore having received the Hostages, Returns he marched back to the Sea, where he found into *Gaul*, his Fleet most of it refitted, and a great Number of Prisoners, and transported his Army at two several Embarkations, in the last of which he went himself, and had the good Fortune not to lose one Vessel, either in this or the former Expedition, on which any of his Forces were on board.

From *Cæsar's* Description of his Battles and Engagements with the *Britons*, they seem very much to resemble those the *Europeans* have with the *Indians*, and other un-
Re-
marks on
Cæsar's
second
Expedi-
disciplin'd tion.

disciplin'd People at this Day; they would seldom meet him fairly in the Field when his Legions were drawn up in Battalia, but either kept close in their Woods and inaccessible Parts of the Country till they were attack'd, or sallied out from thence when they observed the *Romans* were marching carelessly, or dispersed about the Fields, and sometimes gained an Advantage, before the *Romans* could form their Ranks, and put themselves in order of Battle. It is evident that *Cassibelan* depended much more on the difficult Access to his Country, which was then covered with Woods, than in his Arms or the Goodness of his Troops: We see that notwithstanding the *Britons* had the River *Stour* between them and the *Romans*, which was then a considerable Stream, and had fortified themselves after their Manner on the Side of a steep Hill, (generally held to be that where *Chilham* Castle stands, which seems to be as advantageous a Situation as they could have pitched upon) they could not maintain their Ground one single Day. If they fell upon *Cæsar* on his March, as they did sometimes, he tells us their Parties were always worsted. 'Tis true, when the *Romans* ventured singly or in small Parties too far from their Body, the *Britons* had an Advantage of them, as the *Indians* have of us, being half naked and lightly arm'd, and will return to the Charge and cut off our People sometimes before they can be supported. This is what those see every Day who are engag'd with the *Indians*, and makes this Part of *Cæsar's* Relation appear extremely natural; but to suppose, as some do, that the *Britons* were ever a Match for the *Roman* Veteran Troops led by *Cæsar*,

as

as many of our Historians do, shews that they are not Men of any great Experience in Military Affairs.

There is no Instance in our Days, and I believe very few in History, where any Nation has been able to oppose a considerable Body of Disciplin'd Troops without Standing Troops of their own. Which brings to my Memory a notable Debate in the House of Commons after the Peace of *Riswick*: The Court Party then insisting on the Necessity of keeping up a standing Army; it was answered by some Country Gentlemen, That *the Militia of the Kingdom had been hitherto thought sufficient to protect us.* Whereupon my Lord *Cutts*, with the utmost Contempt of them, reply'd, That *he would undertake with Ten Thousand Regular Troops to drive the whole Militia of the Kingdom before him.* To which some Gentlemen return'd, That if *Ten Thousand Men were an Over-match for our whole Militia, then Ten Thousand Men were sufficient to enslave us: And therefore he could never consent to the keeping up such a Body in Time of Peace.* And the Number was accordingly lessen'd. But to return from this Digression: If your Militia, who are all compleatly Arm'd, and usually call'd out and Exercised once a Year, and are taught something of Discipline, and amount to a great deal above a Hundred Thousand Men, would not be able to oppose Ten Thousand regular Troops; how can we suppose our Ancestors the *Britons* could have been able on equal Terms to have engaged the *Roman* Forces, who had spent their whole Lives in constant Service? And in fact, nothing is more evident than that they were not

a Match for them: For notwithstanding the Inland Country was full of Woods, and the whole *British* Nation were assembled under *Cassibelan* to oppose their March, *Cæsar* in one Campaign penetrated as far as *St. Albans*, near a hundred Miles from the Coast of *Kent*, where he landed; and storm'd and took the Fortrefs of *Verulam*, whither the *Britons* were retired with their Cattle, as to a Place of the greatest Strength in their Country.

As to every little Circumstance which *Cæsar* relates in this Expedition, I believe few People give entire Credit to him; as the marching over the *Thames* in the Face of the Enemy at *Coway Stakes* with Horse and Foot, when the bottom of the River was set with rows of Stakes or Palisades, as well as the opposite Bank, and the Water of such a depth as he relates. I say, though we cannot give entire Credit to such Circumstances as these, yet I believe no body doubts *Cæsar's* penetrating as far as *Verulam*, and receiving the Submission of several of the *British* Princes, and imposing a Tribute on them. These things were evident from the Hostages he carried over with him; and if any *Roman* Author has spoken slightly or doubtfully of these Matters, it must proceed from Prejudice or Party Differences: For all the World knows, that Party Quarrels ran very high at *Rome* about this Time. To say that if *Cæsar* had met with that Success he pretends, he would have made an entire Conquest of the Island, or Garrison'd some of the most considerable Places in it, is an Argument that has very little Weight with it: For History informs us, that *Cæsar* had greater Designs in view than the Conquest of *Britain*, namely,

ly, the making himself Master of the whole *Roman Empire*: and after he had render'd himself Popular, and rais'd his Fame to a pitch, by subduing the greatest of the *British* Kings, and making them tributary to the *Roman Empire*, his Design was in a great measure answered. It could not answer the Schemes he had laid to continue in *Britain*, so remote from the Seat of the Government; or to leave his best Troops here, by whose Assistance he had propos'd to advance himself to the Empire.

Before I proceed further, it seems proper From
to enquire how this Island was first peopled; whence
and there is very little reason to doubt but it Peopled.
was planted from *Gaul*; because those Coasts are in sight of us, and in the first Ages People seldom ventur'd far to Sea in Discovery of unknown Countries; neither was it practicable when they had no Vessels fit for the Ocean, and no Compass or Rule to direct their Course when they lost sight of the Shore. *Cæsar* and some other Writers indeed look upon the *Britons* of the Inland Country to be *Aborigines*. By which I presume he meant either that they were here from Eternity; or that some time or other the Earth produced them, as it does Plants: To which Opinion some of our Modern Wits seem ready to subscribe. But as we have a much better Account of the first Peopling of Nations, and extending themselves further and further Northward as the World encreased, it is very natural to suppose, that the Antient *Britons* were a Colony from *Gaul*, which lies in sight of the Island; and the rather, because their Religion and many of their Customs were the same.

Cæsar

Cæsar's
Account
of their
Manners
and
Customs.

Cæsar observes that the Country was exceeding populous when he arrived here, that their Hutts stood very thick, and were built much like those of the *Gauls*, and that they abounded in Cattle: They had some Brass Money, he informs us, and Iron Rings, which were taken by Weight, instead of Money. He observ'd also, that they did not think it lawful to eat Hares, Geese, or Hens, though they kept abundance of them for their Diversion. That the Ports foreign Merchants traded to, were on the East Part of *Kent*, which was consequently much the most civiliz'd Part of the Island, and the Natives differ'd very little from the *Gauls* in their Manners. The People of the Inland Country, indeed, did not regard Tillage, they sow'd no Corn, but liv'd upon Milk and Flesh, and were cloath'd with Skins; however, all of them dy'd or stain'd their Bodies with Woad, which gave them a blue Cast, and a dreadful Aspect in Battle. That the *Britons* wore the Hair of their Heads long, but left none on their Faces except on the upper Lip. Ten or Twelve of them had Wives in common, and generally the nearest Relations; Brothers entered into this kind of Society or Agreement with Brothers, and Fathers with their Children, and enjoy'd their Women promiscuously, only the Children belong'd to the Man who first took any particular Woman to his Bed.

Tacitus's
Account
of them.

Tacitus observes, that those who inhabited the North Part of *Britain*, had great Limbs, and red Hair, like the *Germans*; those of *Wales* curled Hair, like the *Spaniards*; and those of the South Part of *Britain* were like the *Gauls*: However, he thinks it most probable,

bable, that the Island was Peopled by the *Gauls*, for the different Stature and Complexion of the Natives might be ascribed to the different Climates they liv'd under; and 'tis observable, that the *Scots* and *Danes*, and most Northern Nations, are inclined to red Hair, as those who live in the South are to black; and after a People have been settled a considerable Time in any Country, 'tis certain they degenerate very much from what they were, if the Climate be different, and become like those among whom they inhabit in a very few Generations; so that there is very little to be gathered of the Original of any People from the Complexion they are of.) We are further inform'd by *Tacitus*, that the Strength of the *British* Forces lay chiefly in their Foot, though they had some Chariots; the Driver was the Captain, and those who fought about him and supported him, were his Vassals. That antiently the *Britons* were governed by Kings, but in his Time they were crumbled into Parties and Factions, and nothing more facilitated the *Roman* Conquests, he observes, than their Differences among themselves; it being very rare for more than two or three States or Principalities to join in their common Defence.

The Soil, *Tacitus* observed, was fruitful and yielded Corn and every thing else but Oyl and Wine, and such things as require a hot Climate; and among their Minerals, he reckons Gold and Silver, which we know little of at present: And adds, that the Seas afforded Pearls, but of a very dim cast. The Goods exported in those Days were chiefly Hides and Tin; the last of which this Island

Island has been long famous for, being almost peculiar to this Country.

Their
Govern-
ment.

Their Government resembled that of their Neighbours the *Gauls*, consisting of several small Districts, under several petty Princes, which, as Sir *William Temple* observes, seems to be the Original Government of the World, deduced from the Natural Force and Right of Paternal Dominion. Thus we find it was originally in every Country we discover, according to the Histories and Traditions of the Natives, and the largest Empires have arisen either from an Union of such petty Princes under one Head, for their mutual Defence against some common Enemy, or by some Powerful Family, or Kingdom's encroaching upon their Weaker Neighbours, and adding such little Principalities to their Dominions. And as Sir *William Temple* admits that the first Governments were Patriarchal, or Paternal, there seems little Reason to doubt whether they were successive, tho' he is pleased to make a Doubt of it, unless he can suppose that the Children elected their Parents. But it is observed also, that the *Britons* submitted to the Government of Women, as well as Men; which was, I presume, when there were no Males of the Royal Family, as it is at this Day. And this to me is a great Argument of their Respect for their Princes and the Succession of their Issue, in that they did not exclude even their Daughters from the Government; for if they had proceeded to a new Election in any Case, one would think they should have done it in this.

Their Religion was pure Paganism, and their Priests the *Druids* presided in all their Courts of Justice, determining Civil as well

as Ecclesiastical Matters. They were esteem'd the only Learned Men amongst them, and theirs consisted only in some Observations of the Heavens and the Stars, by which they pretended to discover future Events; in some Rules of Morality, and the Knowledge of their Religious Mysteries. They lived retired in Woods and Caves, drank nothing but Water, and eat only Fruits and Herbs; the Austerity of their Lives gain'd them a vast Respect among the People, and they were consulted as well in the framing as interpreting their Laws. They had a particular Veneration for the Oak, from whence, 'tis said, they acquired the Name of *Druids*, *Drus* being the *Greek* Name of an Oak: Others derive it from the *Celtick* Word *Deru*, which signifies the same thing: But the Mistletoe which grew on the Oak was held to be still more Sacred. They taught the Doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls: But I don't find they were so tender of the Lives of Animals as they are in those Countries where this Opinion is held at this Day.

Among the *British* Customs which prevailed when the *Romans* first visited this Island, nothing surely can be more shocking and unnatural than the Account *Caesar* gives of the *Britons* enjoying their Women in common. Had eight or ten Young Men taken as many Women, and for the sake of Change or Variety, agreed to cohabit with them indifferently, it might possibly have been as easily defended as Poligamy, or Concubinage, which prevailed in other Places: For here there seems to be less Injustice done to the Women than in the other Case, in that they shar'd in the Variety, and the Men and Wo-

The Custom of having their Wives in common.

men were upon the Level. But that the nearest Relations, Fathers and Daughters, Sons and their Mothers, should couple together like the common Herd, can never be believed. However the Old Men might be fond of Young Flesh, it cannot be supposed that their Sons would be equally fond of their Mothers. Besides those Mixtures must in Time confound all Distinctions of Kindred, and it must be difficult to know in what degree of Relation they stood to one another: They themselves could not be sure whether they married a Sister or a Daughter. From the whole therefore it may be reasonable to conclude, that *Cæsar's* Relation of this Matter cannot be true in every Circumstance.

Their
Manner
of fighting
in
Chariots.

Another thing I do not fully apprehend, is their Manner of Fighting in Chariots, which I have touched upon already; from comparing *Cæsar* and *Tacitus* together, it seems to me that these Chariots were a kind of open Waggon, commanded by a Captain, who had a certain Number of Men under him, and that in pursuing or retreating, his Men rode in the Waggon with him; but when they engaged, they alighted from the Chariots and fought on Foot, except the Driver their Commander; for 'tis said they had the Swiftneſs of the Horſe, and the Firmneſs of the Foot, and their Dexterity in mounting and leaping from their Chariots, ſeems to be much admired by the *Romans*. But as theſe Chariots are ſaid to have been arm'd with Seyths and Spears, to prevent an Enemy approaching them; I do not ſee how it was poſſible the *Britons* ſhould be able to turn and manage ſuch cumbersome Machines

as these must be, in their Woods. I am apt to believe therefore, that in the Defiles and Woods, the *Britons* always fought on Foot, and only made use of their Chariots to fall from thence, and scour over the Plains, and to make good their Retreat: While they remain'd in their Chariots, they made use of their Bows and other missive Weapons, and when on Foot, of their Swords and Shields: And when they remounted their Chariots and seem'd to fly, they were found to be as dangerous an Enemy, as when they advanc'd.

One great Advantage the *Britons* had in these Chariots was, that their Men came always fresh to an Encounter, whereas nothing is more usual, than for the Troops to be half dead with a fatigueing March and want of Rest, before they come to an Engagement. There was this further Advantage also, that they could take up their wounded Men and drive out of the Battle when they were hard press'd; and 'tis observable, that *Cæsar* could not pursue them till he brought over his Horse in the second Expedition.

To proceed in our History, *Augustus*, 'tis said, had some Thoughts of pursuing his Uncle's Steps, and reducing the *Britons*; but was diverted from it by the Commotions in the Empire, and the rich Presents that were made him by *Tennantius*, the Successor of *Cassibelan*. *Cunobiline* the Son of *Tennantius*, 'tis said, was brought up in the Court of *Augustus*, and held a friendly Correspondence with the *Romans* during his Reign: His chief Seat was *Camolodunum*, (or *Maldon* in *Essex*) as appears by certain Coins still in being.

Augustus

Tiberius. *Tiberius*, who succeeded *Augustus Cæsar*, not thinking it prudent to extend the Bounds of the Empire, never molested the *Britons* during his Reign; nor did the *Britons* care to give him any Provocation, as appears by their sending home the Soldiers who serv'd under *Germanicus*, and happen'd to be cast away upon their Coast.

Caligula. *Caligula*, his Successor, a whimsical Prince, it seems, threatned them very hard, and march'd his Troops to the Coast over against *Britain*; but being inform'd the Enemy was prepared to receive him, and were seen in great Numbers drawn up on the Shore, he contented himself with going on board his Galley, and rowing a little way towards the *British* Coast; after which he returned to the Continent, and while the Trumpets sounded a Charge, order'd his Soldiers to gather up the Cockle-Shells on the Beach: After which glorious Exploit, he sent to the Senate to decree him a Triumph; but the Senators not showing any Inclination to comply with it; 'tis said, he determined to have put them all to Death, if he had not been prevented by a Conspiracy, in which he lost his own Life.

Cunobeline, King of the *Britons* dying, was succeeded by his Sons *Togodumnus* and *Carac-tacus*, who reign'd at the same time, but whether jointly, or in different Parts of the Kingdom is uncertain. In their Reign, *Bericus*, a Subject of *Britain*, having been guilty of seditious Practices, fled with several of his Adherents to *Rome* for Protection, where they insinuated that the Conquest of *Briton* would be no difficult Undertaking. The Emperor *Claudius Cæsar*, being persuaded there

there was a probability of Success, sent to *Claudius* demand the Arrears of Tribute, which had *Cesar's* scarce ever been regularly paid; with which *Expedition.* the *Britons* being provok'd, as well as with the cold Reception their Ambassadors had met with, who went to reclaim *Bericus*, refused either to pay the Tribute or acknowledge any Subjection to the *Romans*. *Claudius* hereupon (now Consul the third time) made choice of this Island for his Province, sending before him *Aulus Plautius* the Prætor, *Plautius* who found some Difficulty, it seems, in persuading his Army to embark, and leave the *General* in *Brit-Gallick* Shores, looking upon it as a War beyond the Bounds of the World. *Plautius* divided his Fleet into three Squadrons, determining if he met with any Opposition in his Descent in one Place to attempt it in another. The Wind was contrary on their first setting sail, which a little discouraged the Soldiery; but the General, who was well acquainted with their Superstition and knew how to manage it, directed them to observe a Light which shot from East to West, and portended, as he assur'd them, Success to their Undertaking, they proceeded with great Alacrity, and landed without any Opposition, the *Britons* being retired to their Woods.

Plautius was some time before he could discover where the *British* Forces lay; but having at length receiv'd Intelligence that they were divided in two Bodies, commanded by *Caractacus* and *Togodumnus*, the Sons of *Cunobiline*, he first attack'd *Caractacus*, and defeated him; and afterwards *Togodumnus*. The *Boduni* hereupon submitted themselves to *Gloucestershire* *Plautius*, and were taken into his Protection: Here he left some Garrisons for the Security of *Oxfordshire*

of the Country; and pursuing the Remains of the *British* Forces, came to a River, where they ventured to make a Stand, apprehending that the *Romans* could not pass it without a Bridge: But the *German* Auxiliaries, who were used to swim over the most rapid Streams, surpriz'd the Enemy when they least dreamt of it, and being directed to wound the Horses which drew the *British* Chariots, in which their greatest Strength lay, the *Britons* were soon put into Disorder. *Flavius Vespasian* and his Brother *Sabinus* were afterwards sent in Pursuit of them, but the *Britons* finding them separated from their Body, renew'd the Fight, and made the Success something doubtful, 'till supported by *C. Sidius Geta*, they were defeated, for which he had Triumphant Honours decreed him, though he had not been yet Consul.

From hence the *Britons* fled to the Mouth of the River *Thames*, where its frequent Inundations made the flat Country full of Lakes and Morasses; which the *Britons* being acquainted with and used to wade through, fought the *Romans* to some Advantage, and many of them were lost by following the Enemy too far into their Recesses. *Plautius* therefore thought fit to remain encamp'd upon the Banks of the *Thames*, and sent Advice to *Claudius* of the Situation of his Affairs, as he had been commanded to do, in case he met with any Difficulties in this *British* Enterprize. (Though it seems to me that the true Reason of sending to the Emperor was, that he might have the Honour of the Conquest, which he had set his Heart upon; and *Plautius* was very sensible by this Time, that the *Britons* were not able to resist the *Roman* Forces,

Forces, for neither Rivers nor Morasses, he tells us in another Place, were any Impediment to the *German Auxiliaries*.)

The Emperor *Claudius*, who waited for the glorious Summons, having before assembled a great Army, and (what was not usual among the *Romans*) provided a Train of Elephants, marched with the utmost Magnificence through the *Gallick Territories* (where, I presume, he was forced to leave his Elephants, there being scarce any Vessels at that time fit to transport such monstrous Animals.) Having transported his Army into *Britain*, and join'd *Plautius*, who lay encamp'd upon the Banks of the River *Thames*, they pass'd the River with their united Forces, and the *Britons* (according to some Authors) had the Hardiness to give them Battle in the open Field; but being defeated, *Claudius* made himself Master of *Camalodunum* (*Malden*) then the Seat of the *British* Princes, and of several other Fortresses; whereupon he was often saluted *Imperator* by the Army, though this was not usual above once in the same War. They were probably put upon it by the Emperor's own Creatures, who were acquainted with his Passion to outshine even *Julius Cæsar* in the *British* War. The Conquer'd *Britons* being disarm'd, were left in Possession of their Houses and Effects; for which Indulgence, the *Britons* erected a Temple to *Claudius*, and paid him Divine Honours. The Emperor having continued about sixteen Days in *Britain*, left his General *Plautius* to compleat the Reduction of the Island, and return'd to *Rome*, from whence he had been absent about six Months: But he had sent the News of his Success before him;

him; for which the Senate decreed him Triumphs, and appointed his mighty Conquests to be annually solemnized. They also conferr'd the Sirname of *Britannicus* both on him and his Son. But *Suetonius* assures us, that *Claudius* met with no Resistance here, the *Britons* submitting immediately on his Approach with that formidable Army. And this seems the more likely, because the Emperor made so very short a stay in the Island. One would be tempted to think that he came over hither for no other Intent than to give the Senate and Army an Opportunity of conferring the Honours above-mentioned upon him.

Plautius still extended his Conquests in *Britain*, and brought the Countries he had already reduc'd into the Form of a Province: Insomuch that at his Return to *Rome* it was thought fit to honour him with an inferior kind of Triumph, in which he rode into the Capitol jointly with the Emperor. *Vespasian*, afterwards Emperor, and his Son *Titus* serv'd in this War under *Plautius*; and 'tis reported of *Vespasian*, that he had been in no less than thirty Engagements with the *Britons*, and that in one of them being surrounded by the Enemy, he was bravely rescued by his Son *Titus*.

Had not Four Books of those excellent Annals of *Tacitus* been irrecoverably lost, (*viz.* from the Sixth to the Eleventh) we might have been able to have given a more particular Account of the Progress of the Roman Arms under *Plautius*: But there remains however his Twelfth Book, which contains a pretty large Account of the Affairs

fairs of Britain under Ostorius Scapula, who succeeded Plautius.

P. Ostorius on his Arrival in Britain found the Roman Affairs in some Confusion: The Britons made frequent Excursions, and infested those Countries which were in Alliance with the Romans. They depended much upon the new General's want of Experience, and the approaching Winter; and did not believe he would have enter'd upon Action on his first Arrival: But the General being of Opinion that the first Impressions are the strongest, and that he should be dreaded or contain'd according to his Behaviour on his Arrival, he took with him some of the light arm'd Cohorts and fell upon several small Parties of the Britons, by which he prevented their forming themselves into a Body. He disarm'd those whom he suspected to be in the Enemies Interest, and secured the Rivers Severn and Avon, by erecting Forts and planting Garrisons in them. But the Iceni, a brave People, who had not yet suffer'd by the Wars, and had formerly entered into an Alliance with the Romans, apprehending they were now to be used like a conquer'd People, had recourse to Arms, and invited their Neighbours to join them.

They chose a Place to Encamp in, surrounded by a Rampart of Earth, which there was no approaching but by narrow Passes and Defiles, that they might be the better able to defend themselves against the Roman Horse.

Ostorius, though he was not yet join'd by his Legions, and had only the Auxiliaries with him, commanded the Horse to dismount, and attack'd their Works without delay. The Britons being enclosed in their

Ostorius the 1d Roman General. Tacitus lib. 12. cap. 31.

*Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and Hunting-shires.

own rude Fortifications, and having no Opportunity of retiring, perform'd many gallant Actions, but were at length defeated; whereupon several other Countries which till now stood wavering, submitted themselves to the Roman Arms.

* *Che-* *Ostorius* next march'd against the * *Cangi*,
shire and spoiling and ravaging the whole Country as
Sbrop- far as the *Irish* Sea, without meeting any
shire. Enemy to oppose him, except now and then
a Party endeavour'd to surprize his For-
gers, who generally paid dear for the Attempt.

† *York-* The † *Brigantes* in the mean time began to
shire. assemble their Troops and threaten an In-
surrection; which occasion'd his marching that
way to secure those Parts, before he advanc'd
further Westward. These being reduc'd,

|| *South-* par'd to carry the War among the || *Silures*,
Wales. a People who depending on the Strength of
their Situation, equally despised the Roman
Arms and their Alliance, and who could on-
ly be brought to Terms by a formal War,
carried on by the Legionary Soldiers.

Before this War against the *Silures* was
commenc'd, *Ostorius* thought fit to leave a
strong Garison in *Camalodunum*, and a Body
of Troops in the conquer'd Countries, as
well for the Security of the Province as to
teach the Natives Civility. *Cogidunus* also,
a *British* King and an Allie of the Romans,
had several Cities given him with the same
View; a usual Piece of Policy of the Romans,
to make even Princes their Instruments in
subduing their own Country. The *Silures*
depend'd much on the Valour of *Caractacus*
their Prince, whose Reputation many obsti-

Caractacus.

nate and successful Encounters had raised beyond that of any other of the *British* Princes: This Leader, conscious that his Forces were not a Match for the *Romans* upon equal Terms, transferred the Seat of the War to the Country of the * *Ordovices*, where he was * *North-Wales*. acquainted with every Pass, and the Situation of the Ground made some amends for the Weakness of his Troops. Being joined by all the Enemies of the *Roman* Power, he drew up his Forces on the Declivity of a Hill, having fortified the Avenues to the Mountain with Heaps of Stones; a River also was to be pass'd before he could be attack'd, where every Place that was fordable was defended by a Detachment of the *British* Troops. Both Armies being drawn up and A general Battle. ready to engage, the *Roman* Historians, after their usual Custom, frame a Speech for the *British* General, which he is supposed to make at the Head of his Troops, containing all the Inducements that could be thought of to incite them to defend their Liberties. Then they represent the surprizing Difficulty of the Attack, suggesting at the same Time, that nothing could withstand the Bravery of their Countrymen, who impatiently demanded the Signal to fall on. In this Heat *Ostorius* leads them to the Charge, and passed the River without any great Difficulty; but as he advanced towards the Ramparts, or Heaps of Stones upon the Hill, several of his Men were killed by the *British* Darts; whereupon they made a kind of Roof over their Heads with their Shields, and soon broke through the ill-compacted Stones. The *Barbarians* (as they stiled the *Britons*) retired to the Tops of their Mountains; hither they

were pursued by the heavy as well as light armed Soldiers, till at length the Britons were entirely dispersed, and the Wife, Daughter, and Brothers of *Caractacus* were made Prisoners; *Caractacus* also, who fled to *Carthimandua*, Queen of the **Brigantes* for Protection, was delivered bound to the Conqueror in the Ninth Year, or as others say the Seventh, after the Commencement of the last British War.

Caractacus made Prisoner.

A.D. 50.

* York-shire.

This was esteemed a very remarkable Victory: The Name of *Caractacus* was become famous even in *Rome* itself, by the long Opposition he made to the *Roman* Power; and as much must be attributed to the Situation of his Country; yet we ought not to deprive him of the Glory that is due to his Bravery and Conduct; for with naked Men to withstand the Efforts of the *Roman* General and his Legions, compleatly arm'd and bred up in War, for Seven Years, required no small Address: There are few Countries that made so noble a Resistance. But to return to our History.

Led in Triumph to *Rome*.

When *Caractacus* was brought to *Rome*, the People were summon'd to attend as on some solemn Occasion; and the Pretorian Cohorts stood to their Arms. First came the King's Servants, then the Spoils taken in War; after these the Brothers, the Wife and Daughter of *Caractacus*; and last of all the King himself. All of them appeared dejected at their approaching Fate, except *Caractacus*; but he neither in his Countenance, Words, or Actions, express'd any kind of Fear or base Submission; but standing before the Tribunal of *Claudius*, is said to have spoken to this effect: If my Mind, *Cæsar*, had

‘ had been as moderate in my Prosperity, as
 ‘ my Birth and Dignity was eminent, I
 ‘ might have come into this City a Friend
 ‘ rather than a Captive; nor could’st thou
 ‘ have disdain’d one for a Confederate whose
 ‘ Descent was so Noble, and who ruled so
 ‘ many Nations. My present Condition, to
 ‘ me Disgraceful, to thee is Glorious. I
 ‘ had Riches, Men, Arms, and Horses; no
 ‘ wonder that I contended to preserve them.
 ‘ But if Fate has decreed the Empire yours,
 ‘ We among the rest, must fall under your
 ‘ Subjection. Had I submitted sooner my
 ‘ Misfortunes had been less Conspicuous, and
 ‘ your Conquest less Glorious. If you pro-
 ‘ ceed Capitally against us and deprive us of
 ‘ our Lives, both will soon be forgotten:
 ‘ But if you suffer us to live, we shall re-
 ‘ main eternal Examples of your Clemency.’

Cæsar, moved with the noble Behaviour of
 the Royal Captive, pardon’d him and the
 rest of the Prisoners; who being unbound,
 in a most submissive manner return’d him
 their Thanks: And afterwards paid the like
 Compliments to *Agripina* the Empress, who
 sat there in State. A new and detested
 Sight, says the Historian, to the manly Eyes
 of the *Romans*; that a Woman should sit in
 Publick in all her Female Pride, surround-
 ed by Ensigns and armed Cohorts: But she
 was look’d upon as an Associate in that Em-
 pire, which had been founded by her An-
 cestors. The Patricians, it seems, also made
 Speeches upon the Captivity of *Caractacus*,
 asserting it to be no less glorious than *P.*
Scipio’s presenting *Cypbax*, *L. Paulus*, *Perses*,
 and other Generals bringing the greatest con-
 quer’d Kings to *Rome* in Chains. A Tri-
 umph

umph also was decreed *Ostorius*; but the same good Fortune did not attend him afterwards: Whether it was that *Caractacus* being subdued, the *Romans* did not expect any considerable Opposition and neglected the War, or that the *Britons* became more united and determined to revenge the Misfortunes of their Prince: They fell upon the *Roman* Prefect in his Camp, who was appointed to erect Fortresses and leave Garrisons in proper Places among the *Silures*; and unless a Reinforcement had come to their Assistance from the Neighbouring Garrisons, they had been entirely cut off; as it was, the Prefect and eight Centurians, with many of their bravest Men lost their Lives. It was not long after that they fell upon the *Roman* Foragers, and defeated their Guard, and though *Ostorius* commanded several Cohorts to reinforce them; they were not able to stand the Shock, till they were supported by the Legions, which gave the Victory to the *Romans*, but the Night coming on the *Britons* received no great Loss.

There were afterwards several smart Skirmishes between their Parties in Woods and Morasses, being drawn out either in Hopes of Plunder or Revenge, sometimes with, and sometimes without their Officers, so that it look'd more like Robbery than a declar'd War. The *Silures*, 'tis said, were more exasperated than any other People, occasion'd by an Expression of the Emperor's, *That he would root out the very Name of them.* They surpriz'd and defeated two Cohorts, who for the sake of Plunder, had advanced too far into the Country, and having disposed of their Spoils and Prisoners in the Neighbouring Countries

Countries, drew them into a Revolt. These *Ostorius* Misfortunes coming so thick one upon the dies. Neck of the other, are thought to have contributed to the Death of *Ostorius* the Roman General, who could not bear to see those Lawrels faded he had reaped in the beginning of his Command. The Enemy rejoiced, as for a Victory, that they had worn out so great a General.

A. Didius was appointed to succeed *Ostorius* *Didius* in Britain, where he found the Roman Affairs succeeds in some Distraction, the Legion of *Manlius* him. *Valens* having been defeated; though the Action it seems had been magnified by the Britons to terrifie the new General on his arrival. Nor did he endeavour to lessen the Report, that he might gain the greater Reputation, by reducing an Enemy that appeared so formidable: Or in Case he did not meet with Success, might be the better able to account for it. The *Silures* continued to infest the Roman Pale, till *Didius* by the strong Parties he sent out, compelled them to retire to their Mountains. *Venutius* a Prince of the * *Brigantes*, now commanded * *Yorkshire* the Britons: He was the Husband of Queen *Carbismandua* who betrayed *Carabacus* to *Venutius* the Romans; she by the Merit of that Action presuming on the Protection of the Roman General, elop'd from her Husband, and took *Vellocatus* one of his Gentlemen to her Bed. This infamous Action was not only attended with the Resentment of her Husband, but the Revolt of almost all her Subjects; whereupon she implored the Roman Aid, and by their Assistance escaped her Husband's Fury. *Venutius*, provoked that the Romans should intermeddle in his Domestick Affairs, and

Verannius
the
Roman
Governor.

Suetonius
succeeds
him.

Isle of
Anglesey
conquered.

and protect an Adulteress against him, though he was formerly their Allie, broke out into open War, assembling the *Britons* from every Part of the Country, who were highly incensed with the repeated Injuries they receiv'd from the *Roman Officers*. *Didius* being grown old and laden with Honours, carried on the War by his Generals, who did little more than maintain their Ground against the Incursions of the *Britons*. *Verannius* was sent by the Emperor *Nero* to command in *Britain*, after *Didius*. He marched against the *Silures* soon after his Arrival, and engaged them with some Success, but died in the first Year of his Government, declaring by his Will that he would have made a compleat Conquest of the Island, if he had lived two Years longer. To him succeeded *Suetonius Paulinus*, esteem'd one of the best Soldiers of the Age, and for two Years together carried on the War with great Success. Then he prepared to attack the Isle of *Anglesey*, which had sent Reinforcements to the *Silures*, and was the constant Retreat of all the Disaffected. He built him therefore a great Number of Flat-bottom'd Boats, to transport the Foot, and his Horse either forded the Passage or swam over. The Enemies Troops were drawn up on the opposite Shore to receive them, and Numbers of Women with Firebrands in their Hands, and their Hair loose upon their Shoulders, ran up and down the *British* Camp like so many Furies: The *Druids* their Priests also lifting up their Hands to Heaven, uttered the most dreadful Curses against their Enemies as they advanced, at which the *Roman* Soldiers stood amazed to that Degree, 'tis said, that they neglected their Defence; till

till awakened and incited by their Generals to mind their Duty, and not be terrified by a Company of foolish Women and Priests. (Here I doubt great Allowances must be made for the Historian's Poetical Vein, for we must not only suppose that the *Roman* Soldiers were superstitious to a very high Degree, to be in the Confusion they are represented, but that they were hitherto unacquainted with the *British* Customs, though they had dwelt so long among them.) The Soldiers being recovered from their Consternation, attacked the *Britons* and defeated them, throwing them into the Fires they had prepared for their Sacrifices: Garrisons were afterwards plac'd in their Towns, and their Groves cut down where their Altars used to smok, 'tis said, with the Blood of their Captives, and where they consulted the Gods by inspecting the Entrails of Men.

While *Suetonius* was engag'd in this remote War against the People of *Anglesey*; he received Advice of a general Revolt of the *Iceni*; their King *Prasutagus*, it seems, dying possessed of great Wealth, the better to secure it to his Family, had left *Caesar* Coheir with his two Daughters; but the Centurions and *Roman* Officers, under Pretence of surveying and taking Possession of the Emperor's new Inheritance, plundered the Palace of the Deceased King, beat and abused *Boadicea* his Widow, and ravish'd his Daughters; the Grandees of the Kingdom were turned out of their Paternal Estates, the Peoples Goods were confiscated, and the whole Royal Family treated after the Manner of Slaves or Prisoners taken in War: The Colony of *Camalodunum* in particular

treated the Natives with all imaginable Insolence.

A general Re-
volt.

A.D. 61.

*Middle-
sex.

With these Indignities and Barbarities the whole Nation was so provoked, that they unanimously had recourse to Arms, entring into a Confederacy with the * *Trinobantes* and other People who had suffered in like manner. The Temple erected to *Claudius*, was looked on by the *Britons* with an evil Eye, and deemed a Monument of their Slavery, for the Priests under Pretence of furnishing their House, and providing for the Solemnization of their Divine Worship, plundered the Neighbouring People of their Goods. *Catus Decianus*, the Roman Procurator, also declared the Estates of the *Britons* to be subject to Confiscation, notwithstanding the Emperor *Claudius* had confirm'd the People in the quiet Possession of them.

Seneca the Philosopher also about this time, 'tis said, recall'd vast Sums of Money he had lent among the *Britons*, extorting from them an extravagant Interest for the Loan of it.

Here the *Roman* Historians, according to the Superstition of those Times, entertain us with Prodigies and Prognosticks of the approaching Troubles: The Image of Victory erected at *Camalodunum* fell down without any apparent Cause, and turned its Back as if yielding to the Enemy; Women in Extasies foretold the ensuing Calamities, barbarous Noises were heard in the Council Chamber, and Howlings in the Theatre, the Ocean appeared like Blood, and at the Tide of Ebb, the Shapes of human Bodies were found imprinted on the Sand.

Cam-

Camalodunum, the chief Colony of the Romans, was but slightly fortified at this time; against this Place therefore the Britons first bent their Fury. The number of the Soldiers in Garrison there was very small, and *Catus Decianus* the Procurator, to whom they sent for Relief, could spare them but two hundred Men: The Soldiers retired into the Temple, as the Place of greatest Strength, where they defended themselves two Days; but being taken by Storm, they were all put to the Sword; the Temple of *Claudius* demolished, and the Town plunder'd and burnt. From hence the Britons march'd to meet *Petus Cerealis*, who was coming to the Relief of *Camalodunum* with the ninth Legion; him they defeated, cutting most of the Legion in Pieces, their Commander escaping by the Swiftnefs of his Horse to the Roman Camp, where with some Difficulty he defended himself; and *Catus Decianus*, whose Rapine had occasioned the Insurrection, fled into *Gaul*. *Suetonius* receiving repeated Advices of the Distress the Roman Colonies were reduced to, returned by hasty Marches towards *London*, which was full of Roman Inhabitants and rich Merchants, though not term'd a Colony at that Time. Here the General had at first determin'd to wait the approach of the Enemy, to which he was inclin'd by the Cries and Entreaties of the Inhabitants; but he chose afterwards to abandon the Town and advance in search of the Britons, taking with him all that were able to bear Arms and were willing to join him; and the rest, whom Sex or Age rendered unfit for a Campaign, were

Camalodunum storm'd and taken by the Britons.

London storm'd and plunder'd by the Britons.

And *Verulam*.

left behind, and soon after perish'd by the Fury of the Enemy. *Verulam*, a Roman free Town, undewent the same Fate; for the *Britons* neglecting to attack the Roman Castles and Fortresses, fell upon the open Wealthy Towns, massacring no less than seventy thousand Souls. The *Britons* made no Prisoners, but put all to the Sword, exercising unheard of Cruelties, if we may credit the Roman Authors: They hang'd up Women naked, cutting off their Breasts and fastning them to their Mouths, as if they were devouring their own Flesh, while they themselves feasted and rejoyc'd in the Temple of *Andate*, the Goddess of Victory.

Suetonius had with him only the fourteenth Legion, and some Standards of Horse, amounting in the whole to ten thousand Veterans, compleatly arm'd: He chose a Place for the Engagement where the Enemy could neither fall upon his Flanks or Rear, having his Front towards a large Plain, where the *Britons* were encamp'd; he drew up his Foot in the Center, and placed the Horse upon the Wings, and here he waited the approach of the Enemy. The *Britons* without any Order ranged about the Plain in Troops and Companies, rending the Air with their Shouts: There were not, according to the Roman Account, less than two hundred thousand of them, and so confident of Victory, that they had brought their Women with them (to see the Slaughter of the Romans,) whom they placed in their Waggon on the further Side of the Plain. *Boadicea*, whose Wrongs were the principal Occasion of the Insurrection, was that Day their Leader: Some Historians represent her riding in an open

Boadicea
Com-
mands
the
British
Troops.

open Chariot through the Troops with her two Daughters, declaring the Usage she had receiv'd from the *Romans*, and exciting the *Britons* to revenge her Quarrel. The *Greek* Historion *Dion* sets her on a Mount in the Field of Battle in a loose Robe, and a Spear in her Hand, animating her Soldiers; she has also a Hare in her Bosom, which after some time is let go; a Ceremony which was supposed to have some Influence on the Fortune of the Day: Then invoking the Goddess *Andate* to prosper her Arms, the *Britons* prepare to Charge. *Suetonius* also is brought in making a Speech to animate his Men. But how impracticable Speeches are at such times, I need not suggest to any considering Man: They are usually drawn up by Historians to give us wrong Impressions. The *Britons* were to be represented this Day as a barbarous distracted Rout; while the Conduct and Bravery of the *Romans* is set in the strongest Light; and indeed from a sudden Insurrection as this was, to which the People were driven by the barbarous Oppressions of the *Romans*, having no skilful Commanders or Disciplin'd Troops, much Order was not to be expected on the *British* side, nor do I apprehend it any mighty Exploit for ten thousand Veteran Soldiers to disperse such a Hairbrain'd Rabble as the *Romans* represent them. The People might be moved with the Wrongs themselves and their Queen had suffered; and (according to the Accounts of their Enemies) had abundance of Justice on their Side; but Justice is often too weak a Defence against regular Forces, which usually gain their Point, let their Cause be never so bad. But to proceed,

Suetonius

Victory
gained
by Suetonius.

Suetonius, unmoved at the Shouts and Threats of the Enemy, stood firm and received their Charge; after which the *Britons* soon dispersed, and he had little to do but to pursue them: The Slaughter was very great, the *Romans* did not spare even the Women, 'tis said, insomuch that fourscore thousand died by the Sword that Day, while the *Romans* did not lose above four hundred Men, according to their own Historians. *Boadicea* poisoned herself, as some write; others say she died a natural Death, but all agree she did not long survive the Battle.

Suetonius was soon after reinforced from *Germany* with ten thousand Foot and a thousand Horse, and kept a very severe Hand over the *Britons*; and what was an Addition to their Misfortunes, they were grievously afflicted with Famine, having neglected to Manure their Grounds during the Insurrection. *Julius Classicianus*, who succeeded *Decianus* in the Office of Procurator, charges *Suetonius* with unreasonable Severities against the *Britons*; and in his Dispatches to *Rome* insinuated, that this Conduct would in all probability perpetuate the War; whereupon *Polycletus*, a Courtier, was sent over into *Britannia* by *Nero* to examine the Complaint, who reprov'd *Suetonius*, and advised him to a milder Administration. Not long after, *Suetonius* losing some Gallies upon the Coast, was Commanded to resign his Government to *Petronius Turpilianus*. This Gentleman prov'd much more Indulgent to the *Britons*; and having composed and calm'd their Spirits, resigned his Post to *Trebellius Maximus*, not entering upon any Action during his Administration.

Petronius Turpilianus
succeeds
Suetonius.

Trebellius

Trebellius followed the Steps of his Predecessor, terming his Remissness and want of us. Discipline, gentle Government; which occasion'd an intolerable Licentiousness and Disorder in his Camp. The Soldiers were incens'd against him also on account of his Covetousness, and a Civil War breaking out in the Empire, *Rossius Caelius*, the Legate of a Legion, being of a different Party, so incited the Soldiers against *Trebellius*, that he was obliged to fly into *Germany* for Protection.

Caelius and the Legate of another Legion, who were in the Interest of the then Emperor *Vitellius*, took upon them the Administration, till *Vitellius* sent over *Vellius Bolanus* to Command in *Britain*. This Gentleman contented himself with keeping the Province quiet, without entering upon any new Enterprize against the unconquered *Britons*; and is charged by some Writers with Sloth and Neglect of Discipline, as well as his Predecessors.

Petilius Cerealis, of Consular Dignity, was appointed by *Vespasian* to succeed in the Government of *Britain*: He had several sharp Encounters with the * *Brigantes*; for * *York-Venutius* had even till this time, it seems, *shire*. maintained his Ground there against the *Romans*; great part of the *Roman Forces* having been commanded out of *Britain*, either by *Otho* or *Vitellius*, when they contended for the Empire.

Julius Frontinus succeeded *Cerealis*, who by reducing the * *Silures* and driving them from their strongest Retreats in the Mountains obtained abundance of Honour: But *Julius Agricola*, whom *Vespasian* sent hither in his last Year, having been bred up in the

Vellius Bolanus
com-
mands in
Britain.

Petilius Cerealis.

Julius Frontinus.

* *South Wales*.

Agricola
com-

British

stands in British Wars, extended the Roman Conquests in this Island beyond any of his Predecessors.

A. D. 79. A little before his Arrival, the * *Ordovices* had cut off a Body of *Roman Horse*, which was quartered amongst them: *Agricola*, though it was the latter End of the Summer, and the Forces lay dispersed about the Province, assembled a Body of Troops, and marched directly against the *Ordovices*, whom he beat from their Hills, and almost extirpated the whole Nation. From thence he marched to the Isle of *Anglesey*, where not staying for Boats he commanded some of the Auxiliaries to swim over the Sea; which so terrified that People, that he soon completed the Reduction of it. These two Actions raised his Reputation to a very great Height: The *Britons* were amazed to see him, at the very Entrance upon his Government, when the time is usually taken up in Compliments and congratulatory Addresses, make so considerable a Progress.

The Britons treated with Humanity. But *Agricola* was not more famed for his Conduct in War, than for removing the Occasions of it: He began with the Reformation of his own Court, and would not suffer his Attendants or Officers to intermeddle with or influence publick Affairs: He took Care that the Taxes and Tribute should be equitably and proportionably assess'd; restrain'd the Extortions and Encroachments of his Collectors, which were heavier than the Taxes themselves, and by this Means brought Peace into some Reputation, which before, by the Negligence and Corruptions of former Governors, had been hitherto as much dreaded by the *Britons* as a State of War.

The

The Emperor *Vespasian* dying about this time, his Successor *Titus* confirm'd *Agricola* in his Command; who taking the Field the following Summer, so harrafs'd the Enemy, that he left them scarce any Retreat: But after he had sufficiently terrify'd the *Britons*, and shewn them that it was to little purpose to resist the *Roman* Arms, he so allur'd them with the Mildness of his Government, that many distant Cities, without Compulsion, came and submitted to him. He put the People upon building and improving their Houses and Lands, encourag'd the Liberal Arts, and introduc'd the *Latin* Eloquence: The Gown and other *Roman* Fashions were imitated, a voluptuous Life was indulg'd, and the *Britons* had their Bagnio's, their Shews and elegant Entertainments as well as the *Romans*. These were encourag'd to induce them to forget their native Fierceness, and more readily submit to the *Roman* Yoke; it being an approv'd Maxim, that the readiest way to enslave a People, is to debauch their Morals, and to amuse them with Shews and Trifles, while you are sapping the Foundations of their Liberties.

And
civiliz'd.

Agricola, in the third Year of his Government, discover'd Nations before unknown to the *Romans*, advancing Northward as far as the Bay of *Taus*, or *Tweed*, without being molested by the *Britons*. He erected Forts to secure his Conquests as he mov'd forwards, and the Places he built them in were so skillfully chosen, according to *Tacitus*, that none of them were ever taken or surrender'd to the Enemy. But surely *Agricola* was very happy in having so Friendly an Historian to record his Actions; for whether in Peace or War,

we find this General ever acting with the greatest Wisdom and Prudence; and so exceeding good, so just and temperate, that one wou'd be tempt'd to think the Historian was describing what a Great Man ought to be, rather than what he really was. Most Writers have their Heroes, 'tis observ'd, but if they would suffer them to have some few of the Failings incident to Human Nature, their Relations wou'd have a greater Appearance of Truth. If *Agricola* had half those Qualifications his Son *Tacitus* relates, he was certainly a very great Man. But to proceed. *Agricola* plac'd strong Garrisons in the Forts he had erected, whereby he prevented the Excursions of the Enemy during the Winter; for it was no uncommon thing before, to recover in Winter what they had lost in Summer. The fourth Summer was taken up in settling the Government of those Countries he had reduc'd, and erecting Forts upon that Neck of Land between the Friths of *Edinburgh* and *Dunbriton*, the Enemy being driven as it were into another Island. In this fifth Year he first made use of his Fleet, and as some imagine, discover'd the *Orcades* on the North of *Scotland*; but it is certain he made himself Master of that part of the Coast of *Scotland* nearest *Ireland*, which, 'tis observ'd, he had some Thoughts of reducing, by the Entertainment he gave to one of the *Irish* Princes, who was driven from his Country, and desir'd the Protection of the *Romans*.

The following Summer it being rumour'd, that all the Nations beyond *Bodotria*, (*Edinburgh-Frith*) were in Motion, and intended to attack the *Roman* Army, *Agricola* order'd his Fleet to sail along the Coast as he advan-

The fifth
mus be-
tween *E-*
dinburg
and *Dun-*
briton-
Friths
fortified
by *Agri-*
cola.

ced, to assist the Land-Forces; and here in the Evening, when the Fleet was at Anchor and the Army encamp'd, the Mariners often came on Shore, and intermixing with the Troops, they related their respective Adventures. You should hear the Landmen, says *Tacitus*, describing the difficult Ascent to the Woods and Mountains, while the Sailors related the Storms and Tempests they had been in: the one talk'd of subduing the Country, the other of enlarging the Dominion of the Sea: and by such Discourses, fir'd each other with a glorious Emulation.

The *Roman* Fleet struck the *Britons* with Terror: They did not however neglect their Defence, but assembled their Forces and attack'd several of the *Roman* Fortresses. *Agri- cola* observing that the *Britons* divided their Forces into several small Bodies, divided his Army also into three parts; which the Enemy understanding, on a sudden joined all their Forces, and fell upon the ninth Legion in their Camp at Midnight, doing great Execution before the *Romans* were well awake. But *Agri- cola* by his Spies having Intelligence of the March of the *Britons*, follow'd them close at the Heels, so that by Break of Day the *Roman* Standards appear'd on every side: The Dispute was very sharp in the narrow Passages to the Camp, but the *Britons* were defeated, and compell'd to retire to their Bogs and Mountains. The *Roman* Soldiers, who just before were ready to mutiny upon their marching so far Northward, upon this Success desir'd their Generals would lead them to the utmost Bounds of *Britain*; while the Enemy ascribing their Defeat more to the Stragglers of the General than the Strength

of his Forces, prepar'd again to meet him in the Field: They summon'd all that were able to bear Arms, and having secur'd their Families in Places least expos'd, oblig'd themselves at their Sacrifices and solemn Meetings, to make their utmost Efforts against the common Enemy,

Britain first discover'd to be an Island.

About this time a *German* Cohort having kill'd their Centurion, and several other *Roman* Officers, to escape the Hands of Justice, seiz'd on three small Vessels upon the Coast, and put to Sea in them without a Pilot; they were driven upon the Shores of *Britain*, and carry'd as far North as the *Orcades*. These Deserters first brought certain Intelligence to the *Romans*, that *Britain* was an Island.

The following Summer *Agricola* having sent his Fleet to the Coast of *Scotland* before him, to alarm and distract the Enemy, begun his March to the North with a good Army, in which he entertain'd several *Britons* belonging to the *Roman* Colonies, of whose Fidelity he was well assur'd. He found the Enemy encamp'd on the Mountain *Grampius*, (*Grainisbrane-Hill* in the County of *Marr*) to the number of thirty thousand Men, commanded by *Galgacus*, one of their Princes. The *Roman* Historian here presents us with a Speech of each of the Generals to animate their Men, containing such Inducements as he apprehended most likely to prevail with them to do their Duty. He proceeds to acquaint us, that the first Line of *Agricola's* Army was compos'd of eight thousand Auxiliary Foot, and that he had three thousand Horse upon the Wings; that the *Roman* Legions compos'd the second Line, with whom he did not propose to engage, unless there

Galgacus Commands the Britons.
A.D. 84.

there was a Necessity for it. For the *Romans*, it seems, never expos'd their National Forces in the Front of the Battle ; so careful were they of the Lives of their Citizens ; whereas in our Wars the National Troops always take the most hazardous, as being the most honourable Post, and the Troops we have the least respect for are ever the least expos'd : Our Generals however use the same Caution that the wise *Agricola* did, placing themselves in the Rear with the Body of Reserve, that they may observe what Advantages are to be made, and relieve those who are hardest press'd.

The *British* Foot were drawn up on the The Ro-
side of the Hill, and made as great an Ap- mans ob-
pearance as they could, in order to terrify tain a
their Enemies with their Numbers ; their Victory.

Horse and Chariots scour'd over the Plain between the two Armies, which rung with the Noise of them. *Agricola* having order'd his Front to be extended, that the Enemy might not flank him, alighted from his Horse, and standing at the Head of the Legions, made a Signal to begin the Charge. The two Armies fought for some time at a distance with their Darts and Arrows, till *Agricola* commanded three Cohorts of *Batavians* to advance and engage the *Britons* in a closer Fight, whose Spears and pointed Swords gave them a great Advantage of the *Britons*, and compell'd them to retire : The *British* Horse and Chariots not being able to make any Impression on the *Romans*, were dispers'd, and fell in among their own Foot, where they did more Mischief than the Enemy.

The *Britons* on the Tops of the Hills who had not yet engag'd, observing the small
Numbers

Numbers of the *Romans* which charg'd their Forces, were about to surround them, when *Agriola* detach'd four Troops of Horse from the Body of Reserve, which soon compell'd them to retire, and a total Rout immediately follow'd. Of the *Britons* were kill'd about 10000, and of the *Romans* not above 340, among whom the most considerable was *Aulus Atticus*, Prefect of a Cohort, who by his own youthful Heat, and the Fierceness of his Horse, was carried away among the thickest of the Enemy. The Night coming on, the *Britons* fled to the Woods and inaccessible part of the Country, not endeavouring to keep together in a Body: They burnt and destroy'd their own Houses in their Retreat, so that the next Morning the *Romans* observ'd all the Country to be in a Smoak, but not a Man to be found. It being now the latter end of the Summer, *Agriola* led his Army to the Country of the *Horresi*, (which some take to be the People of *Angus* upon the Tay, in the Eastern part of *Scotland*; others take them to be Highlanders.) Having receiv'd Hostages of this People, he commanded his Admiral to sail round *Britain*, while he himself led back the Horse and Foot by easy Marches, the better to settle and confirm his new Conquests, after which the Army went into Winter-Quarters. The Fleet having had a prosperous Voyage, made the *Triadulensian* Port (near *Sandwich*) from whence it first set sail, having subdued the Islands of *Orkney* in their way; though others hold they were reduced two Years before. *Domitian* the Brother of *Vitus* was now Emperor of *Rome*, and receiv'd the News of *Agriola's* Success with great seeming Satisfaction, decreeing him

him the highest Honours; but however recall'd him soon after, and sent him into the East; where he died, suspected to be poisoned by the Directions of the Emperor, who could not bear to see himself out-shin'd, as *Tacitus* intimates. This was the State of Britain from the first to the last of the twelve *Cæsars*. The succeeding Emperors lost much of what *Agricola* had won, seldom advancing beyond the Friths of *Dunbritton* and *Edin-burgh*; all to the Northward of the two Friths, they call'd *Caledonia*, the rest of the Island under the Dominion of the Romans, retained the Name of *Britannia*. *Agricola* had built several Forts on the Neck of the Land between *Sterling* and *Glasgow*, for the security of the Roman Province against the Incursions of the Northern Peoples; but whether he erected a continued Wall from Sea to Sea, as some Writers intimate, I very much Question: This seems to have been done several Years after.

We have scarce any certain Account of *A.D. 122* what was transacted in Britain from the time *Adrian* *Agricola* left the Island, till the Reign of the builds a Wall Emperor *Adrian*, when it appears that the *Caledonians* and *Picts*, having made Incursions into the Roman Province, *Julius Severus* was sent over to restrain them; and afterwards the Emperor came hither in Person, and built a Wall of Earth, from *Solway Frith* near *Carlisle* to the River *Tyne* by *New-Castle*; resigning all the rest of the Country as far as *Sterling*, which was the former Boundary of the Romans, to the *Caledonians*. *Adrian* leaving the Island in a State of Peace, stiled himself the *Restorer of Britain*, as appears

pears by his Coin. In his Time *Priscus Licinius* was Lieutenant here.

A.D. 144 In the Reign of the Emperor *Antoninus Pius*, the *Brigantes* made another Struggle for their Liberties, but were defeated, and the *Romans* again extended their Dominion as far as *Sterling*. *Lollius Urbicus*, who then

A Wall
erected
between
Dun-
britton
and *E-*
dinburgh
Friths.

A.D. 181
King *Lu-*
cious be-
comes a
Christi-
an.

commanded in *Britain*, erected a Wall of Earth between *Dunbritton* and *Edinburgh* Friths. *Marcus Aurelius*, the succeeding Emperor, by his Lieutenant *Calpurnius Agricola* carried on the War successfully against the *Caledonians*. To *Aurelius* succeeded *Com-*

modus, in whose Time *Lucius*, a *British* King, received the *Christian* Faith, being the first Monarch, 'tis said, that made open Profession of it; and I take him to be a Vassal to the *Romans*, who suffered the conquered Nations to enjoy their own Kings, in Name at least, though nothing of Consequence was transacted in their Dominions without the Approbation of the Emperor's Lieutenant.

In the Reign of *Commodus*, the *Caledonians* broke through the Wall, and defeated the *Roman* Forces, advancing so far Southward that the whole Province was in Danger: But *Ulpian* *Marcellus*, the most accomplished General of his time, being sent over hither by the Emperor, reduced them to their former Bounds, and restored the Nation to a State of Peace: Upon his Return to *Rome*, the Legions in *Britain* mutiny'd, which occasion'd *Perennis*, the Emperor's Favourite and Captain of his Guard, to change their Officers; but this exasperated them still the more, and they deputed fifteen hundred of their Number to attend the Emperor, and charge *Perennis* with dangerous Practices against the Govern-

Government; and to appease them, or as some say, for his own Security, *Commodus* delivered him up to the Fury of the Soldiers, having long suspected his Fidelity.

Notwithstanding this Compliance of the Emperor's, the Sedition encreased among the *British* Legions, and they proceeded so far as to set up another Emperor; whereupon *Helvius Pertinax* was sent over hither, and with great Difficulty compell'd them to return to their Duty, being knocked down and left for dead, in an Encounter with the Mutineers. He was succeeded in the Government of *Britain* by *Clodius Albinus*, who soon after was commanded, upon some Disgust the Emperor had entertain'd, to resign to *Junius Severus*. A.D. 194

Pertinax being advanced to the Empire, restored *Albinus* to his Government of *Britain* again, in which he continued during the short Reign of *Pertinax* and *Didius Julianus*, and rendered himself so exceeding popular among the Soldiers, that he maintained his Post afterwards, notwithstanding the succeeding Emperor *Septimius Severus* sent over *Hiracitus* as his Lieutehant, and commanded him to resign. *Albinus* afterwards assembled all the *Roman* Forces in *Britain* and *Gaul*, and gave Battle to *Severus*, near *Lyons* in *France*, but after an obstinate Dispute, *Albinus* was kill'd in the Field of Battle, and his Army entirely defeated. Hereupon *Severus* divided *Britain* into two Provinces, committing the Government of the South to *Hiracitus*, and the North to *Virius Lupus*. The *Caledonians* about this time broke in upon the *Roman* Pale, destroying all the Country before them, which *Lupus* not being able

195.

to restrain with the Troops he commanded, sent to the Emperor for a Reinforcement: *A.D* 208 *Severus* now grown old and ill of the Gout, had notwithstanding an Ambition to compleat the Conquest of *Britain*, and accordingly determined to go thither in Person, taking his two Sons *Caracalla* and *Geta* with him: Some say his principal Inducement to this Expedition, was to withdraw his Sons from the Pleasures of *Rome*, and keep his Soldiers in Action: But however that be, *Severus* set forward with a numerous Army, and arrived in *Britain* much sooner than the *Caledonians* expected, who being terrified at the approach of these mighty Forces, immediately sent Ambassadors to make their Submission: The Emperor entertained them with fair Words for a Time; but having made the necessary Preparations for his March, they were dismissed without effecting any thing. The Emperor order'd Bridges to be made, to lay over the Bogs and Marshy Grounds, with which the North Part of *Britain* then abounded, for thither he understood the *Caledonians* used to retire, and could not easily be pursued by the *Romans*.

Having passed *Adrian's* Wall, he ordered the Woods to be cut down, Roads to be made over the Hills, and drain'd or fill'd up the Morasses in his Way; but notwithstanding all his Caution, the *Britains* frequently surprized his Troops, and cut off great Numbers of them, though they never durst engage the Grand Army, insomuch that it is computed *Severus* did not lose less than fifty thousand Men in this Expedition. He persisted, however, to march to the most Northern Parts of *Britain*, compelling the *Br-*

tains to accept of Peace on such Terms as he thought fit to prescribe. But for the Security of the South against future Incurfions, he built a new Wall of Stone cross the Island, upwards of fourfcore Miles in Length, between *Solway* Frith and the River *Tyne*, near the Place where the Wall built by the Emperor *Adrian* formerly stood: Towers were built also on this Wall at proper Distances, and a large Ditch for its Defence. The Emperor afterwards took upon him the Title of *Britannicus Maximus*, and resided at the City of *York*, leaving the Command of the Army to his Son *Antonius Caracalla*; but he being intent upon his Pleasures, or as some say, busied in a Conspiracy against his Father, the *Caledonians* had recourse to Arms again, and made Incurfions into the *Roman* Pale as formerly, whereupon the Emperor commanded his Son to march against them, and spare neither Sex or Age, but extirpate the whole Race. But the Emperor dying at *York* soon after, his two Sons made Peace with the *Caledonians*, and having received Hostages, return'd to *Rome*. From this Time to the Reign of *Dioclesian*, we have no continued History of the Affairs of this Island, and know little more of them than what is collected from some Coins and Inscriptions. By an Altar-Piece we find that *Nonius Philippus* was Lieutenant here in the Reign of the Emperor *Gordian*. During the Reign of the Emperor *Galienus*, we understand there was a general Revolt, and of the thirty Tyrants, who took upon them the Title of Emperors, 'tis conjectur'd from their Coins that several of them resided here, or usurp'd the Government of *Britain*, as *Lolli-*

A.D. 211
Severus
builds a
Wall of
Stone
where
Adrian's
stood.

anus, Victorinus, Posthumus, the Tetrici, and Marius.

A.D. 280

While *Probus* was Emperor, *Bonifus* of British Extraction associated himself with *Proculus*, and assum'd the Imperial Purple; but being defeated near *Cologne* in Germany, he hang'd himself. *Carausius*, a German of mean Extraction, in the Reign of *Dioclesian* being made Admiral of the Belgick and Armorick Seas, then much infested by the *Franks* and *Saxons*, so enrich'd himself by the Prizes he took, or by the Bribes he received for not doing his Duty, that he was thought dangerous to the State, and understanding that *Maximianus Hercules*, *Dioclesian's* adopted Son, was marching into *Gaul* against him, he pass'd over with his Navy into *Britain*, and made himself Master of the Island; and having encreased his Fleet, and assembled a considerable Army here, bid defiance to *Maximian*, who having no Fleet to oppose *Carausius*, was content to associate him with him in the Empire, and yield the Government of *Britain* to him. *Carausius* repaired and fortified the Wall built by *Severus*, and erected a Triumphal Arch in Memory of some Victory obtain'd thereabouts, and there are Coins still remaining of these two Emperors joining Hands. But some Misunderstanding afterwards happening between them, *Maximian* sent *Constantius* to besiege *Bologn*, which was Garrison'd by the Forces of *Carausius*. In the mean time *Carausius* was treacherously assassinated in *Britain* by *Alectus*, one of his Friends, who assum'd the Imperial Purple; though others say it was in a pitch'd Battle with *Alectus* near *Caversfield* in *Oxon*, that *Carausius* lost his Life;

Life; but however that be, *Constantinus* immediately transported his Army into *Britain*; where his Forces defeated *Allectus*, and killed him in the Field of Battle. The *Britons* with their Wives and Children, 'tis said, went out to meet *Constantinus*, looking upon him as their Deliverer. This, according to *Eumenius*, seems to be but one continued Action; But others are of Opinion, that the Tyranny of *Allectus* continued about three Years.

In the Reign of *Diotlesian* there was a severe Persecution of the *Christians*, which extended it self as far as *Britain*, and among others that suffered Martyrdom here, are reckoned *Aron* and *Julius* of *Gaeldon*; but the first and most glorious Martyr is said to be the famous *Saint Alban* of *Verulam*, from whom the Town of *St. Alban's* takes its Name.

Diotlesian and *Maximian* voluntarily resigning the Empire to *Constantinus* and *Galerius*, and *Britain* and the Western Provinces falling to the Share of *Constantinus*, he came over into *Britain*, and while he was preparing for an Expedition against the *Picts*, he died at *York*, appointing his Son *Constantine* to succeed him; who happily arrived in *Britain* a little before his Father expired. It is generally held that *Constantinus* married *Helena*, the Daughter of *Coelus*, a *British* Prince, and that his Son *Constantine* was born in *Britain*; but of this the *Roman Histories* are silent. *Constantine* having settled the Affairs of *Britain*, went over into *Gaul*. This was the first Emperor who took the *Christians* into his Protection. He divided *Britain* into three Provinces, viz. *Britannia Prima*, divided containing

A.D. 290

St. Al-

ban Mar-

tyr.

338.

Constan-

tine.

310.

Britain

divided

containing

into
three
Provin-
ces.

containing the South part of the Kingdom, whereof the Capital was *London*. 2. *Britannia Secunda*, containing North and South *Wales*, of which the chief City was *Caerleon*. And 3. *Maxima Caesariensis*, of which the Capital was *York*. This last was afterwards subdivided into two Parts, of which the North Part was call'd *Flavia Caesariensis*. In these Provinces were no less than twenty eight Cities, which were the Sees of so many Bishops. The *British* Church flourished mightily in the Reign of *Constantine*, and in the Year three hundred and fourteen, sent Deputies to the Council of *Arles*; and in the Year three hundred and twenty five, to the *OEcumenical* Council of *Nice*.

British
Cities.

Councils
at which
the *British*
Bishops as-
sisted.

Constantinople
made
the Seat
of the
Empire.

Constantine removing the Imperial Seat to *Byzantium*, that he might the better make Head against the *Parthians*, who at that time were the most formidable Enemies of the Empire, the *Roman* Forces were withdrawn from the Western Provinces, which thereupon became exposed to the *Franks* and *Saxons*, as *Britain* also was to the *Picts* and *Scots*, as well as *Saxons*.

A.D. 337

Upon the Death of *Constantine*, the Empire was divided between his three Sons; *Britain* and the Provinces on this side the *Alps*, falling to the share of *Constantino*, the Eldest; but a Civil War happening between the Brothers, *Constantius* prevailed and reign'd solely in the Empire. Against him *Magnentius*, one of his Generals, said to be of *British* Extraction, conspired, and by his Popularity drew over great part of the Army to his Interest; but after several obstinate Battles, *Magnentius* was defeated, and laid violent Hands

Hands upon himself. *Arrianism* prevailing in Christendom about this Time, *Constantius* appointed a Synod of above four hundred Bishops to be held at *Ariminum*, at which three *British* Bishops assisted. *Paulus* being sent over into *Britain* in this Reign to make an Inquisition after those who had been concerned with *Magnentius* in his Rebellion, confiscated the Estates of great numbers of *Britains*, and rendered himself very terrible here; and being opposed by *Martinus* the Emperor's Lieutenant, accused him also of inclining to *Magnentius*; at which *Martinus* being highly provoked, drew his Sword, and struck at the Inquisitor; but missing his Blow, stabb'd himself; and *Paulus* being protected by the Emperor, proceeded in his Rapines and Extortion, Imprisoning and putting to Death whom he pleased: But was himself in the Reign of the next Emperor *Julian* burnt alive, as some Historians relate.

The *Britons* were soon after terribly harassed by the *Picts*, the *Scots* and *Atticots* from the North (of the Original of which People I shall speak hereafter.) The *Franks* and *Saxons* also frequently landed upon their Coasts, and committed unheard of Ravages; so that the whole Nation was reduced to the greatest Distress: Whereupon *Theodosius* the Elder, Father of the Emperor of that Name, was sent over with some Forces into *Britain*; he landed at *Rutupiæ* (*Sandwich*,) and marched immediately towards *London*, then call'd *Augusta*: He met some of the Rovers in his way, and retook their Plunder from them, and having reduced the Province to a State of Peace, and erected
Forts

Forts upon the Northern Borders; he fil'd the Country he had retaken from the *Picts*, *Valentia*, after the Name of the Emperor *Valentinian*, who was at this time upon the Throne.

Maximus was afterwards sent into *Britain*, who did good Service against the *Picts* and *Scots*; (Some say by dividing them, and inviting the *Picts* to join with the *Romans*, he drove the *Scots* into *Ireland*.) But the Emperor *Gratian*, who reign'd jointly with *Valentinian*, associating with him *Theodosius* the Younger, as his Partner in the Empire, *Maximus* was so offended at it, expecting that Honour himself, that he assembled all the Forces in *Britain*, and sailing to the Mouth of the *Rhine*, join'd the *Germans*, and procur'd himself to be acknowledged Emperor; and *Gratian* being deserted by his Troops, was murder'd by the Usurper: After this he march'd into *Italy*, compelling *Valentinian* to fly for Refuge to *Theodosius*, the Eastern Emperor, who in a great Battle defeated *Maximus*, and put him to an infamous Death, by the Hands of the common Executioner.

Some Historians relate that *Maximus* having carried over with him a vast number of *Britons*; those who escaped from the Battle finding no Opportunity of returning Home, marched into *Armorica* in *Gaul*, and settled there, giving that Country the Name of *Little Britain*. *Theodosius* having settled the Affairs of *Britain*, made *Sillicobo* his Lieutenant here, who bravely defended the Province against the *Saxons* as well as the *Picts* and *Scots*, according to the Poet *Claudian*, who thus applauds the Felicity of this Island under his Administration.

Me

*Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,
Munivit Stilicho, totam quum Scotus, Hibernam
Movit, & infesto spumavit remige Thetis.
Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
Scotica, nec Pictum tremere, ne littore toto
Prospicerem dubiis venientem Saxona ventis.*

Which a modern Writer translates thus.

*By neighbouring Nations I was almost lost,
When the brave Stilicho preserv'd my Coast :
The Scot did then all Ireland inflame,
With Oars the Ocean foam'd whene'er he came.
But fortify'd by Stilicho, no fear
Of Pictish Inroads or a Scottish War
Cou'd me possess : The Saxon could not find
Me unprepar'd : He sail'd with ev'ry Wind,
My Shores were safe, whatever he design'd.* }

And in another Place,

— *Domito quod Saxone Thetis
Mitior, aut fracto secura Britania Picto.*

*Saxons subdu'd, the Ocean had Rest,
Nor cou'd the broken Picts our Peace molest.*

*Theodosius made his Son Arcadius Emperor
of Constantinople ; and Honorius Emperor of
Rome, who was then but ten Years of Age ;
in whose Reign the Goths and Vandals break-
ing in upon the Empire, the Roman Legion
left for the Defence of Britain was withdrawn
to assist the Emperor. The Britons being
thus deserted, chose Marcus their Lieutenant
for their Sovereign : But Marcus not answer-
ing their Expectation, was soon after mur-
der'd* A.D. 408

der'd. After him they set up *Gratianus*, who was assassinated also before he had reign'd four Months. *Constantine*, a common Soldier, was next pitch'd upon for their Prince, from whose Name the *Britons* promised themselves great Things. This Man meeting with great Success in *Britain*, pass'd over into *Gaul*, and being joined by Part of the *Roman Army*, made himself Master of that Country: Then he made his Son *Constans*, *Cæsar*, who was before a Monk, and sent him with an Army into *Spain*, which he reduc'd; but *Gerontius* his General, enter'd into a Conspiracy against him at *Vien* upon the *Rhone*, and kill'd him: After which he join'd his Forces with *Honorius* the Emperor, and besieged *Constantine* in the City of *Arles*, which the Usurper had made the Seat of his Government: Here *Constantine* being made Prisoner, was sent to *Rome* and Beheaded, after a four Years Reign.

The *Britons* upon the Death of *Constantine*, return'd to the Obedience of the *Roman Emperor*, whose Aid they implor'd against the *Picts* and *Scots*; and their Ambassadors to express their Repentance, and Distress, rent their Cloaths, and covered their Heads with Dust. They obtain'd one Legion of *Honorius*, who drove the *Picts* again out of the Province, reducing them to their antient Bounds, and advis'd the *Britons* to rebuild their Wall: However, the *Romans* were no sooner withdrawn, but the *Scots* and *Picts* broke in again, committing greater Hostilities than ever.

A.D. 446 In the twenty-third Year of *Theodosius*, who associated with him *Valentinian*, and made him Emperor of the West, the *Britons* sent a
suppli-

supplicatory Epistle, directed to *Ætius*, then the third time Consul, styling it, *The Groans of the Britons*: Wherein the Rhetorical Writer thus expresses their wretched Condition: *The Barbarous People drive us to the Sea: The Sea forces us back again upon the Barbarians: So that we have no other Choice left; but whether we will die by the Sword or by the Waves.* But the Empire being no longer able to defend it self, they petition'd in vain for Relief; and were left to provide for themselves as well as they could, after this Country had been under the Dominion of the *Romans* near five hundred Years, reckoning from *Julius Cæsar's* first Expedition into *Britain*.

The end of the Roman Government.

South-Britain having been so long subject to the *Romans*, and the Favourite Province of that Empire, was become almost entirely *Roman*. The Buildings, the Habits, the Fashions, and Manners of the People of *Rome*, and their Form of Government were studiously imitated here: Their Laws introduc'd, and even their Bagnio's, publick Shews and Diversions, the same in *Britain* as in *Italy*. And what contributed still more towards an entire Union of the two Nations, was a Resemblance in their Persons and Tempers, as some have observ'd, which occasion'd more frequent Intermarriages with the Natives, than in other Countries under their Dominion. But we need look no further for Motives to induce the *Romans* to settle here, than the Fruitfulness of the Country, and the Prospect they had of making their Fortunes in it. But notwithstanding the vast Numbers of *Romans*, or those of *Roman* Extraction in this Island, were almost equal to the *Britons*, when the

Remarks on the Roman Government in *Britain*.

regular Troops were recall'd (from the Representations of the generality of our Historians) one would be tempted to think, that all the Families descended from or allied to the *Romans*, withdrew from hence with their Troops; which seems impossible in the Nature of the Thing, 'Tis true, we find on this Occasion all the Inhabitants left in the Island pass under the general Name of *Britons*: But 'tis usual after a Descent or two, when several Nations are blended together, for the whole People to be denominated of that Country where they are Born, whatever Nation their Ancestors were of. Thus in *Ireland* we call all those who are born there *Irish*, tho' they descend from *English* Ancestors: They may distinguish themselves in the Country probably from the Unciviliz'd *Irish*, as the *Britons* in the *Roman* Pale were from the *Britons* in the North, to whom they gave the Name of *Picts*: But there does not seem to be much distinction made between the *Britons* in the *Roman* Pale, who were Civiliz'd, and applied themselves to Arts and Sciences, and those who were of *Italian* Extraction, but all were included under the general Name of *Britons*. We find that before the *Romans* had been settled here forty Years (reckoning from the Invasion of *Britain* by *Claudius Cæsar*) there were no less than seventy thousand *Romans* massacred in one Insurrection under *Boadicea*, which very probably were not half the *Roman* Inhabitants then in the Island; and if the *Romans* were so prodigiously encreased in less than forty Years, while they were in an unsettled Condition, What must their Numbers amount to in four hundred Years upon the most moderate Estimate?

The

The *Roman* Soldiers were but an inconsiderable number compar'd to those who came over to plant the Country and traffick here, as appears by that great Massacre of them above-mention'd, for they could then scarce muster ten thousand regular Forces ; and a single Legion was frequently thought sufficient for the Guard of all *Britain*, which it would not if the Inhabitants had not been a great part of them *Romans*.

It is observ'd also, that the Usurers of *Rome* did not employ their Money any where to such Advantage as in *Britain* ; even the Self-denying *Seneca*, 'tis said, had no less than a hundred thousand Pounds out at Interest here, not lent on any Uncertainties to the unciviliz'd *Britons*, we may be sure, but to considerable *Roman* Families who came over to plant and settle here, and could afford to give extraordinary Premiums for the Loan.

The number of *Roman* Cities also, which which our Historians reckon to be about twenty-eight, shew how considerable a part of the Nation they were. In these Places, and the Territories belonging to them, the Laws and Customs of the *Romans*, as I take it, were universally observ'd, but in the more inaccessible and uncultivated Parts of the Country, it seems pretty clear, that the *Romans* suffer'd the *British* Princes to retain their Titles and an Appearance of Sovereignty, though they were in effect but their Viceroys, and contributed to keep the People in Subjection to them. And when the *Roman* Forces were recall'd from *Britain*, and the Inhabitants of this Island were discharg'd of their Allegiance to the Empire, it seems pretty evident, that the Governors of the *Roman* Colonies

Colonies and the *British* Princes agreed to confer the Command of their Army, if not the Government of all *South Britain*, upon some one Person, that they might be the better enabled to make Head against their Enemies the *Picts* and *Scots*, as well as the *Saxons*, who then infested their Coasts.

But to enquire a little further into the Nature of the *Roman* Government while they were Masters here. *Britain* was one of the Diocefes belonging to the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Gaul*, and had a Governor ftill'd a Vicar, under whom were five other Governors, who commanded in five feveral Provinces which *Britain* was then divided into, viz. *Valentia*, *Maxima Cæfarienfis*, *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, and *Flavia Cæfarienfis*: And thefe Governors determin'd all Causes Civil and Criminal in their refpective Governments. The Military Government was not in the fame Hands, but executed by three Officers under the *Magiftri Militum*, viz. The *Comes Britanniarum*, the *Comes Littoris Saxonici*, and the *Dux Britanniarum*: Of thefe the *Comes* or Count of *Britain* was the Chief, and commanded three thoufand Foot and fix hundred Horfe; the *Comes* or Count of the *Saxon* Shore over-againft *Germany*, had two thoufand two hundred Foot, and two hundred Horfe under his Command; the *Dux Britanniarum* commanded fix thoufand Foot and three hundred Horfe, befides eight thoufand Foot and fix hundred Horfe, which were pofted at proper Difances to defend the Northern Wall againft the Incursions of the *Picts*; fo that the whole Forces of the *Romans*, when compleat, did not amount to more than twenty thoufand nine hundred Men

Men in *England*, and very often not to half that number. I can't but observe here, what ridiculous Stories we meet with in some of our Historians, concerning the withdrawing these Troops when that Flood of barbarous Nations over-run the Empire : They tell us, that they exhorted the *Britons* to stand up in their Defence against the *Picts* and *Scots*, who were not more powerful than themselves : That they instructed them in the Art of War, and left them *Patterns of their Arms and Weapons*, &c. Now as the *Romans* had commanded in this Island above four hundred Years, and transported hither such numerous Colonies of their Citizens, and entertain'd so many thousand *Britons* in the Military Service, can it be suppos'd that the People of *Britain* wanted to be instructed in the Art of War, or in the Fashion of those Weapons which they themselves had worn, and which no doubt many of them had then in their keeping ? But our Historians, as has been observed already, follow one another without reflecting on the Absurdity of what they transcribe. The *Romans* who resided here, were indeed become one People with the *Britons* by their Alliances and Intermarriages in so long a tract of Time ; how is it possible then that the People of *South Britain*, whether of *Roman* or *British* Extraction, could be ignorant of such things as they had been conversant about for several hundred Years ? I take it that that Reluctance which the *Roman* Troops express'd at leaving the People of this Island, proceeded from a Sense of their being their Brethren, of the same Blood with themselves, and allied to many Families in *Rome*, as the People of *Ireland* are at this Day to those of *England*,

England, which makes us equally concern'd for them, and ready to defend them against the Insults of Foreign Enemies and their Unciviliz'd Neighbours.

But it may be demanded, If the *Romans* were still so considerable a part of the Nation, how came it to pass that they were not a Match for the wild unciviliz'd *Picts* and *Scots* in the North part of the Island? To which it may be answer'd, because the People of the low Lands and the South, never were a Match for the Mountaineers of the high Lands, nor are to this Day, without the Assistance of regular Troops. The *Picts* and *Scots* were a hardy People, bred up to Arms, Hunting and laborious Exercises, while those in the *Roman Pale* were probably addicted to a soft luxurious Way of Living, like the Inhabitants of the Mother City *Rome* at that time, and consequently very unfit for War. Another Reason may be the Divisions that were amongst the Southern *Britons*, while their starv'd Enemies in the North united all their Strength, in hopes of making themselves Masters of those Provinces which they saw overflow with Plenty in the South. The same Inducements have made our Northern Neighbours a troublesome Thorn in our Sides for many Generations since; nor can they ever be restrain'd, in the Opinion of some, but by a Body of regular Troops and Garrisons planted amongst them, as the *Romans* long since taught us. Hunger, according to the Proverb, will break through Stone Walls: No Walls that ever were built, either of Earth or Stone, have been found strong enough to keep the Northern *Britons* within their Bounds, to confine them within the
Limits

Limits of their own barren Mountains, where they scarce enjoy the Necessaries of Life. The only Way, some have insinuated, to render them more peaceable and less troublesome to their Neighbours, is to allow them a Share in Traffick, and encourage the Fishery on their Coast, which would not only divert them from that rapacious Way of Living they have been us'd to, but in time make their Circumstances easy at Home, and consequently they would have less Inclination to prey upon others. *South Britain* also might save the Charge, as well as avoid the Odium, of governing them by a Military Force.

It seems very much to our purpose here, to enquire into the Original of those People who inhabited the North part of the Island, the *Picts*, *Scots* and *Atticotts*, from whose IncurSIONS *South Britain* was scarce ever free; and it is generally held, that the *Picts* and *Britons* were really the same People, distinguish'd only in Name, that they were either such *Britons* as inhabited the North part of the Island before the coming of the *Romans*, or those who were driven out of the South by the *Roman Arms*. Mr. *Cambden* observes, that it was not till the time of *Maximian* and *Dioclesian* (when the *Britons* had learnt the provincial *Latin Tongue*) that those Northern People were call'd *Picts* from their still retaining the Custom of Painting their Bodies, and to distinguish them from those who were confederate or intermix'd with the *Romans*, who had long diffus'd it, but were notwithstanding call'd *Britons*, as the Descendants of the *Romans* who liv'd amongst them also were.

The
Picts
and *Scots*
their
Original.

As to the *Scots*, it is observed, they were never mentioned by any Writer till the third Century; and 'tis generally held, that they first settled in *Ireland*, and from thence came over into *Scotland*. Bishop *Usher* has shewn, that *Ireland* is called *Scotia* by the Writers of those Times. *Gildas*, who wrote about the Year 564, calls the same People sometimes *Scoti*, and at others *Hiberni*. *Adamannus*, in the Year 680, calls *Ireland* the Isle of *Scotland*. And the Bishop seems positive, that no Writer who lived within a thousand Years after *Christ*, ever mention'd the Name of *Scotland* but he meant *Ireland* by it. Not that the *Scots* are suppos'd to be the first Inhabitants of *Ireland*; that was very probably first planted from *Great Britain*: but the *Scots* are thought to be a Colony of the ancient *Scythians*, who inhabited the North part of *Europe*; and about the third Century venturing to Sea, in search of new Habitations, fell upon *Ireland*; which being thinly inhabited, the Natives either would not or cou'd not oppose their Descent. It is probable they were first invited over into *Scotland* by the *Picts* of *North Britain*, to assist them in their Wars against their Enemies of the South. But both *Picts* and *Scots*, or whatever other Nations inhabited the North, we find they all went under the general Name of *Caledonians* for some time. As for the *Attacotti*, they seem to be of the same Original with the *Scots*, and this the Name only of one of the *Scottish Tribes*.

C H A P.

CHAP. VIII.

Treats of the Introduction of the Saxons into this Island: Their Alliances and Wars with the Britons. Of the Heptarchy or Seven Kingdoms the Saxons established; and of the State of those Kingdoms until the Reign of King Egbert, who became the First sole Monarch of England; containing the Space of about three hundred Years.

THE Original of the Saxons, who began now to infest this Island still remains to be enquired into. Mr. *Rapin* complains that tho' several Historians have written of this Nation, we are not at all the wiser, in relation to their Original. However, all our Historians agree they came from *Jutland*, (the *Cimbrian Chersonese*) and the German Coasts over-against us, and that they were part of those Northern Nations originally, which over-run the rest of the Roman Empire; and Mr. *Rapin* himself does not pretend to pursue their Original farther, or at all improve our Knowledge in this respect, any more than in some others, notwithstanding his mighty Pretences to enlighten us; he has indeed a pretty Talent at Invention where History is silent, as others of that Stamp generally have; he can work up a Story from the slightest Hint, and embellish it with a variety of plausible Circumstances to supply a Vacuum, or give a Colour to a favourite Opinion, as he has done here, and without any manner of Hesitation, has the Confidence to assure us that the Chiefs of the Saxons were subject to their People, and not the People

to their Princes. Then he proceeds to draw a Parallel between the antient *Saxon* Government and the present Government of *Britain*, insinuating thereby that the King of *England* is subject and accountable to his People as the *Saxon* Princes were; for if he be not, there is an end of the Parallel between the *English* and *Saxon* Constitutions, at least as this Writer has represented the latter. But what the *Saxon* Constitution was, and whether we have any greater Reason to imitate that polite People, than any other Powers who have had the Dominion of this Island, I shall have occasion to examine hereafter.

The
State of
Britain
when the
Roman
Forces
were
with-
drawn.

While the *Romans* governed *Britain* it seems pretty evident that they suffer'd several of the *British* Princes to retain an Appearance of Sovereignty at least, and by them more easily kept that part of the People in subjection, who liv'd in the mountainous and more inaccessible Parts of the Country, at a Distance from their Garisons. Under *Vortigern*, one of these Princes, it was that the whole Nation united to oppose the Incursions of the *Picts* and *Scots*, but all the regular Troops being withdrawn, it was thought adviseable to entertain a Body of *Saxons* in *British* Pay. In the Year 449, (says *Bede*) the *English* or *Saxons*, being invited over by King *Vortigern*, arriv'd in *Britain*, in three long Ships, and had a Place assign'd them in the Eastern part of the Island for their abode. As for the Speech the *British* Ambassadors are said to make to the *Saxons* on this Occasion, offering to resign the Kingdom to them, and become their Subjects, this is so little consistent with their giving the *Saxons* Pay, and the *Saxons* complaining for want of their Pay, and making it

it a Pretence for their quarreling with the *Britons*, that we may depend upon it, no such Offer of the Kingdom was made. Instead of complaining for want of Pay, we should certainly have found the *Saxons* claiming the Kingdom as their own, if a Cession of it had been made them.

But however that be, *Hengist* and *Horfa*, two Brothers (the Sons of *Wetgislus*, the Son of *Vesta*, whose Father was the famous *Woden*, from whom most of the *Saxon* Princes deriv'd their Pedigree) embark'd with a Detachment of Troops in three Vessels, and sail'd to the Assistance of the *Britons*. These Forces cou'd not amount to more than fifteen hundred Men; however, with this small Reinforcement, *Vortigern* obtained a Victory over the *Picts*, near *Stamford* in *Lincolnshire*, and gave his new Allies, 'tis said, a small Territory in that Country, as a Reward of their Bravery; but the Story of *Thong-Castle*, from *Hengist's* begging as much Land as he could surround with an Ox-hide, which he afterwards cut into Thongs, has serv'd upon so many Occasions, that it scarce deserves to be remembred here.

The next Year, another Body of Troops came over in sixteen or seventeen Ships, denominated *Jutes* and *Angles*, the one coming from *Jutland*, and the other from *Anglen* or *England* in *Sleswick*: These, with the *Saxons* who came over the preceding Year, making a considerable Body, had the Isle of *Thanet* in *Kent* assign'd them for their Residence; with these last Troops, some Writers relate, *Rowena*, the Daughter or Niece of *Hengist* (a great Beauty) came, with whom King *Vortigern* was so captivated that he married her, and

and thereupon conferr'd the Kingdom of *Kent* upon her Father *Hengist*. But the *Saxon Annals* mentioning nothing of the Story of *Rowena*, and it having much of the Air of a Romance, little Credit is to be given to it. Some time after another Body of *Saxons* came over under the Conduct of *Otha*, the Brother of *Hengist*, and *Ebusa* his Son; and these possess'd themselves of that part of the Island afterwards called the Kingdom of *Nor-thumberland*, having first driven out the *Picts* and *Scots* who then possess'd it. The *Saxons* having now got such Footing in the Country, began to pick Quarrels with the *Britons*, sometimes on pretence their Pay was in Arrear, and at others that it was not proportionable to the Service they had done; and entering into an Alliance with the *Picts* and *Scots*, wasted all the Kingdom in a dreadful manner, till *Vortimer*, the Son of *Vortigern*, 'tis said, assembling the *British* Troops, fought several Battles with the *Saxons*, and reduc'd them to the narrow Bounds of *Thanet* again.

Saxon
King-
doms.

457.
Kent.

Vortimer dying about the Year 457, *Hengist* and his Son *Esca* afterwards defeated the *Britons* at *Crecaanford* in *Kent*, whereupon the *Britons* abandon'd that Country, and from this Victory the Beginning of the Kingdom of *Kent* is generally dated. *Vortigern*, however still remaining in Possession of the greatest part of *South Britain*, the Conquest whereof the *Saxons* apprehended would be a Work of Time, they treacherously invited him and the Chiefs of the *Britons* to an Interview without Arms, on pretence of settling their respective Limits; which being agreed on, *Hengist* and his *Saxons* concealing their Daggers

gets under their Cloaths, on a sudden, when the *Britons* were merry, the Word was given, *Nemet euvr Saxes, Draw your Daggers*; whereupon the *Saxons* stabb'd every one the Man that was next him, to the Number of three hundred, being the Flower of the *British* Nobility; only *Vortigern* himself they made their Prisoner, till they compell'd him to assign those Provinces to them, which afterwards went under the Name of *Essex*, *Sussex*, and *Middlesex*.

Vortigern being released from his Confinement by the *Saxons*, 'tis said, retired to a Castle in *North Wales*, while *Aurelius Ambrosius*, of *Roman* Extraction, maintain'd the War against the *Saxons*, and gave them several memorable Defeats, if we may credit some Writers; but the *Saxon* Annals however scarce ever mention such a Person. *Ambrosius* afterwards, 'tis said, succeeded *Vortigern*, as Monarch of *South Britain*; but when *Vortigern* died, or in what manner, is very uncertain, there being many different Relations concerning it. Under *Ambrosius* serv'd Prince *Arthur* the *British* General, whose Successes have been so much celebrated in Songs and Romances, tho' I perceive it remains a Dispute to this Day, whether there was ever such a *British* Chief. In the Year 477 *Ella*, another *Saxon* Prince arrived in *Britain* with his three Sons, *Cymen*, *Pleting*, and *Cyssa* on the Coast of *Sussex*, where he defeated the *Britons* who assembled to oppose him, and laid the Foundation of another *Saxon* Kingdom. In the Year 489 died *Hengist*, the first *Saxon* King of *Kent*, and was succeeded by his Son *Escus*, a peaceable Prince,

Prince, who did not endeavour to enlarge the Bounds of his little Kingdom.

Cerdic, a Saxon Prince, descended also from *Woden*, arrived in *Britain* about the Year 495. In the Year 501, *Porta*, another Saxon Chief, landed on the Coast of *Hampshire*; and some say, gave Name to *Portsmouth*; but this Place, *Mr. Camden* was of Opinion, obtain'd its Name from its Port. *Ambrosius*, sometimes call'd *Nazaleed*, being kill'd in a Battle with *Cerdic*, to him succeeded his General Prince *Arthur*, according to *British* Tradition. This Prince, 'tis said, successfully opposed the Saxons for many Years, and obtain'd no less than twelve Victories over them; but *Cerdic* notwithstanding at length prevail'd against him, and about twenty-four Years after his Landing in *Britain*, took upon him the Title of King, and establish'd a third Saxon Kingdom, call'd, *The Kingdom of the West Saxons*.

*West
Saxons.*
519.

*East
Saxons.*
527.

The fourth Saxon Kingdom, was that of the *East Saxons*, founded by *Erchinwin*, the Son of *Offa*, Anno 527, who is observ'd to be the only Prince that did not derive his Pedigree from *Woden*, but from *Saxenat*.

*Nor-
thum-
berland.*
547.

In the Year 547 *Ida* the Saxon, who descended from *Woden*, founded the fifth Saxon Kingdom, call'd, *The Kingdom of Northumberland*, from its lying North of the *Humber*.

*East
Angles.*
575.

The sixth Saxon Kingdom was not founded till the Year 575, when *Uffa* stil'd himself, *King of the East Angles*.

Mercia.
585.

The seventh and last Kindom was call'd *Mercia*, founded in the Year 585, by *Crida* the Saxon.

*A Table of the respective Saxon Kings that
Reign'd during the Heptarchy.*

K E N T.

The Kingdom of Kent, begun Anno 457,
and ended Anno 823 ; continuing 366
Years. The Capital City, Canterbury.

	Anno
<i>Hengist</i> , began his Reign, ————	457
<i>Efcus</i> , his Son, fucceeded ————	488
<i>Oſta</i> , his Son ————	512
<i>Hermenrick</i> ————	534
<i>Ethelbert</i> , his Son ————	568
<i>Edwald</i> , his Son ————	616
<i>Ercombert</i> , his Son ————	640
<i>Egbert</i> ————	664
<i>Lotbair</i> , his Brother ————	673
<i>Edrick</i> , his Nephew ————	685
<i>Windred</i> , his Brother, and <i>Swabert</i> ————	686
<i>Ethelbert</i> and <i>Edbert</i> , Sons to <i>Windred</i> ————	725
<i>Aldrick</i> , their Brother ————	760
<i>Edbert</i> , Sir-nam'd <i>Pren</i> ————	794
<i>Cudred</i> ————	798
<i>Baldred</i> , his Son ————	806

S O U T H S A X O N Y.

The Kingdom of South Saxony, begun Anna
491, and ended Anno 600 ; continuing
109 Years. The Capital City, Chicheſter.

	Anno
<i>Ella</i> , began his Reign ————	491
<i>Cyſſa</i> , fucceeded ————	514
<i>Ethelwolf</i> ————	
<i>Berthrum</i> ————	
<i>Anthum</i> ————	

WEST SAXONY.

The Kingdom of *West Saxony*, begun Anno 519, and ended Anno 800; continuing 281 Years. The Capital City, *Winchester*.

	Anno
<i>Cerdic</i> , began his Reign	519
<i>Kenrick</i> , his Son, succeeded	534
<i>Keaulin</i> , his Son	560
<i>Ceolrick</i> , his Nephew	594
<i>Ceolwylph</i> , his Brother	598
<i>Cinigifil</i> , his Nephew	611
<i>Quicelm</i> , his Brother	612
<i>Cenowalch</i> , Son to <i>Cinigifil</i>	643
<i>Sexburge</i> , his Wife	672
<i>Ceufus</i>	673
<i>Esfwin</i> , his Son	674
<i>Cedwalla</i>	686
<i>Ina</i>	688
<i>Adelard</i> , his Cousin	727
<i>Cudred</i> , his Brother or Cousin	740
<i>Sigebert</i> , his Nephew	754
<i>Cenulph</i> , <i>Adelard's</i> Son	754
<i>Brittbrick</i> , his Son	784

EAST SAXONY.

The Kingdom of *East Saxony*, begun Anno 527, and ended Anno 747; continuing 220 Years. The Capital City, *London*.

	Anno
<i>Ercbenwin</i> , began his Reign	527
<i>Sladda</i> , his Son, succeeded	587
<i>Sabert</i> , his Son	599
<i>Saered</i> , <i>Seward</i> , and <i>Sigebert</i> , his Sons	616

Sigebert

	<i>Anno</i>
<i>Sigebert the Little, Son of Seward</i> —	623
<i>Sebba, Son of Seward, and Siger, Son</i> }	
<i>of Sigebert the Little</i> —	
<i>Sigbard and Senofrid, Sebba's Sons</i> —	694
<i>Offa, Son to Siger</i> —	705
<i>Seolred, or Selred, the Son of Sigebert</i> }	
<i>the Good</i> —	709
<i>Swiðfred, his Son</i> —	746

NORTHUMBERLAND.

The Kingdom of *Northumberland*, begun *Anno* 547, and ended *Anno* 792; continuing 245 Years, besides an Interregnum of 33 Years. The Capital City, *York*. This Kingdom was frequently divided into two Parts, the North call'd *Bernicia*, and the South, *Deira*.

	<i>Anno</i>
<i>Ida, began his Reign</i> —	547
<i>Adda, eldest Son of Ida, succeeded to</i> }	
<i>Bernicia, and Alla, the younger, to</i> }	
<i>Deira</i> —	
<i>Glappa, succeeded Adda</i> —	566
<i>Fridulph</i> —	572
<i>Theodorick</i> —	579
<i>Athelrick</i> —	586
<i>Adelfrid, his Son</i> —	590
<i>Edwin, Son of Alla, King of Deira</i> —	617
<i>Ofrick, in Deira</i> —	
<i>Anfrid, in Bernicia</i> —	633
<i>Ofwald, Son to Adelfrid</i> —	634
<i>Ofwy, his Brother, in Bernicia</i> —	643
<i>Ofwyn, Son of Ofrick, in Deira</i> —	644
<i>Adelwalt, Son to Ofwald, in Deira</i> —	652
<i>Ofwy, in Bernicia</i> —	

	<i>Anno</i>
<i>Alfred, in Deira</i>	
<i>Egfrid, Son to Oswy</i>	— 670
<i>Alfred, his Brother</i>	— 685
<i>Oswy, his Son</i>	— 705
<i>Kenred</i>	— 716
<i>Ofrick</i>	— 718
<i>Ceolwulf</i>	— 730
<i>Edbert</i>	— 737
<i>Oswulf, his Son</i>	— 758
<i>Mollon Adelwald</i>	— 759
<i>Alcred</i>	— 765
<i>Ethelred, Mollon's Son</i>	— 774
<i>Alfwald, Oswulf's Son</i>	— 779
<i>Oswy II. Alcred's Son</i>	— 789

EAST ENGLAND.

The Kingdom of *East England*, begun *Anno*
575, and ended *Anno* 792 ; continuing 217
Years. The Capital City, *Dunwich*.

	<i>Anno</i>
<i>Uffa, began his Reign</i>	— 575
<i>Tutil, his Son, succeeded</i>	— 578
<i>Redowald, his Son</i>	— 599
<i>Erpwald, his Son</i>	— 624
<i>Sigebert, his Brother</i>	— 636
<i>Egrick</i>	— 644
<i>Annas, Son of Ennius, Nephew to Redowald</i>	644
<i>Ethelrick, his Brother</i>	— 654
<i>Adelwalt, his Brother</i>	— 655
<i>Aldulph, his Nephew</i>	— 664
<i>Alfwald</i>	— 680
<i>Beorna and Ethelbert</i>	— 749
<i>Ethelred</i>	— 757
<i>St. Ethelbert</i>	— 790

MERCIA.

M E R C I A.

The Kingdom of *Mercia*, begun *Anno* 585,
and ended *Anno* 874; continuing 289 Years.
The Capital City, *Lincoln*.

	<i>Anno</i>
<i>Crida</i> , began his Reiga	585
<i>Wibba</i> , his Son, succeeded	597
<i>Cearlus</i> , Cousin-German to <i>Wibba</i>	616
<i>Penda</i> , <i>Wibba</i> 's Son	625
<i>Wulfer</i>	659
<i>Ethelred</i> , his Brother	675
<i>Cenred</i> , his Nephew, Son to <i>Wulfer</i>	704
<i>Ceolred</i> , Son to <i>Ethelred</i>	709
<i>Ethelbald</i> , Brother to <i>Penda</i>	716
<i>Beornred</i> , Usurper	757
<i>Offa</i> , succeeded his Cousin <i>Ethelbald</i>	757
<i>Egfrid</i> , his Son	796
<i>Cenulph</i> , descended from <i>Wibba</i>	796
<i>Cenelm</i> , his Son	819
<i>Ceolulph</i> , his Uncle	819
<i>Bernulph</i>	821
<i>Ludican</i>	823
<i>Wiglaph</i>	825

*The Counties each of the Saxon Kingdoms
contain'd.*

1. The Kingdom of *Kent* contain'd only The Li-
the County of *Kent*.
2. The Kingdom of *Mercia* contain'd *Suffex* and *Surry*,
the South Saxons contain'd *Suffex* and *Surry*,
or great part of them.
3. The Kingdom of *West Saxons*, contain'd *Berkshire*, *Hamp-*
shire, *Wiltshire*, *Somersetshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Devon-*
shire, and so much of *Cornwal* as was not un-
der the Power of the Britons.
4. The Kingdom of *East Saxons*, contain'd *Essex* and *Suffex*,
the East Saxons contain'd *Essex* and *Suffex*,
or great part of them.

of the *East Saxons*, contain'd *Middlesex*, *Essex*, and Part of *Hertfordshire*. 5. *Northumberland*, contain'd *Lancashire*, *Yorkshire*, *Durham*, *Cumberland*, *Westmoreland*, *Northumberland*, and Part of *Scotland* as far as *Edinburgh Frith*. 6. The Kingdom of the *East Angles*, which afterwards gave Name to all the rest, contain'd *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and the *Isle of Ely*. And, 7. The Kingdom of *Mercia* contain'd, *Gloucestershire*, *Herefordshire*, *Worcestershire*, *Warwickshire*, *Leicestershire*, *Rutlandshire*, *Northamptonshire*, *Lincolnshire*, *Huntingtonshire*, *Bedfordshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, *Oxfordshire*, *Staffordshire*, *Shropshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, *Derbyshire*, *Cheshire*, and Part of *Hertfordshire*.

It was near an hundred and forty Years from the first coming of the *Saxons*, before they establish'd themselves in all these Kingdoms. The *Britons* for a long Time maintain'd the War both against the *Picts* and *Saxons*; and the bravest of them, who preferr'd Liberty to any thing else, at last retir'd into *Wales* and *Cornwall*.

*British
Kings
after
Arthur.*

The *British Monarchs* who succeeded King *Arthur*, according to our Historians, are first *Constantine*, the Son of *Cador*, Anno 542; to whom succeeded *Aurelius Conanus*, the Nephew of *Arthur*, Anno 545; after him *Vortiporus*, who came to the Crown in the Year 578; to whom succeeded *Malgo Canonus*, whom *Gildas* makes to be one of the greatest of the *British Princes*; to him succeeded *Carelius*, in the Year 586, and after him *Cadwan*; *Cadwallo*, the Son of *Cadwan* succeeded his Father, Anno 635; leaving his Dominions to his Son *Cadwalador*, who defended the *Britons*, 'tis said, for many Years, and

and afterwards retiring to *Rome*, became a Monk, and died there about the Year 689, being the last King of the *Britons*.

Notwithstanding our best Historians have Re-
confess'd themselves to be very much in the dark in that part of our History which re-
lates to the Times between the withdrawing of the *Roman* Forces from this Kingdom, and the establishment of the *Saxons*, and especially as to the Accounts of the *British* Princes and Generals, insomuch that it remains a Dispute at this Day, whether some of them ever had a Being; yet the ingenious Monsieur *Rapin*, has given us as particular an Account of those Times and Princes, as if he had constantly attended their Camps, and been of their Privy-Council; nay, their minutest Actions are no longer conceal'd from us, but all their Amours and Domestick Concerns are related with that Assurance, as if they had been transacted but Yesterday in the Face of all the World.

Vortigern, in whose Reign the *Saxons* were invited into *England*, he will have to be a cruel tyrannical Prince, abandon'd to all manner of Vice, and that he procured the *Saxons* to be call'd in, not so much to protect his Subjects against the *Picts* and *Scots*, as to render himself absolute by the Assistance of those Troops. Then he proceeds to relate the Novel of *Rowena*, who he tells us, was Niece to the *Saxon* General *Hengist*, and the most celebrated Beauty in *Saxony*; he says the General having invited King *Vortigern* to an Entertainment, order'd his Niece to stand directly before his Majesty, that he might feed his Eyes with that lovely Object; and the King, according to his Expectations, was

so smitten with her Charms, that he kept his Eyes fix'd upon her, while she by her Looks gave him to understand, she was not insensible of the Honour he did her. That upon a Sign given her by *Hengist*, she fill'd a Golden Cup with Wine, and presenting it on her Knees to the King, said, *Liever Kyning wafs Heal; i. e. Dear King your Health*; whereupon he bid her drink to him, and afterwards saluted her. This, says our *French Novelist*, was a fatal Moment to *Britain*, for he gave *Hengist* the Kingdom of *Kent*, in consideration he would consent to give him his Niece, whom *Vortigern* married, notwithstanding he had a Wife before: Nay and deposed the Prince who was Sovereign of *Kent* to make room for *Hengist*.

Ambrosius
us.

And now he brings *Ambrosius* upon the Stage, relating that he was descended from some of the *British* Princes, and that when *Vortigern* was elected Monarch of *Britain*, a powerful Party declaring in his Favour, *Vortigern* was so jealous of him, that from that time he contrived how he might destroy him. Whereupon *Ambrosius* retired to *Aldroen* Prince of *Armorica*, where he waited for a favourable Conjunction to return to *England* again.

Vortimer
wer de-
poses his
Father
Vortigern.

Vortimer the eldest Son of *Vortigern*, our *Novelist* assures us, was no less an Enemy to his Father than *Ambrosius*, and brings him in making a Speech to the *Britons*; and telling them, that it was time to apply a Remedy to the Evils they lay under: That his Father's Cowardize, or rather Treachery, had rendered the *Saxons* too powerful, and they ought to oppose his heaping more Favours on those Foreigners. That the *British* Nation

on would be ruined if a Stop was not put to their growing Power. Whereupon the *Britons* enter'd into a Confederacy with the Son against his Father, and compell'd him to resign the Administration of the Government to *Vortimer*. This part of the Story no doubt was fram'd that we might not want an early Precedent to justify us in deposing our Princes, and to recommend the publick Spirit of *Vortimer*, who by traducing his Father, we are told, work'd himself into the Affections of the People, and usurp'd his Throne in order to deliver them from the Oppressions they suffered; (as has been the Practice of some later Heroes, to their eternal Honour be it spoken.) Thus, says the Novelist, *Vortimer* was invested with the Regal Authority, leaving his Father only the empty Title of King.

A Precedent for future Princes.

He proceeds to acquaint us, that a great Battle was soon after fought between the *Britons* and *Saxons* at *Aylesford* in *Kent*, where *Horsa* the Brother of *Hengist* fell on one side, as *Catigern* the youngest Son of *Vortimer* (*Vortigern* he means) did on the other. And *Vortimer's* Victory was so compleat, that he compell'd *Hengist* to retire to the Isle of *Thanet*, and some say beyond Sea. However, it seems a Battle was fought two Years after at *Greyford* in *Kent*; wherein *Vortimer* was defeated, and the whole Country ravaged by *Hengist* and his *Saxons* in a most dreadful Manner.

The *Britons* hereupon, our Novelist tells us, sent to *Aldroen*, Prince of *Armorica*, for Assistance, who sent over their belov'd *Ambrosius* with a Reinforcement of ten thousand Men, who was receiv'd with great Joy by the generality of the *Britons*: but *Vortimer's* Party

Descent of *Ambrosius* with 10000 Men from *Armorica*.

however look'd upon it, that *Ambrosius* came rather with a Design to usurp the Crown, than to defend them against the *Saxons*; and thereupon prohibited all Men to join him. *Ambrosius* on the other Hand represented to the People, that *Vortimer* was a Prince of no Courage or Experience, and the Father an Enemy to the Interest of the Nation; and that it was necessary to suppress their Domestic Enemies before they turn'd their Arms against the *Saxons*. Hereupon a Civil War ensued, one Party being commanded by *Vortigern* and his Son *Vortimer* (between whom our Novelist is pleas'd to suggest there was a good Understanding at this time, notwithstanding what had happened before) and *Ambrosius* on the other. That this Civil War lasted seven or eight Years, when they came to an Agreement, that *Vortigern* and his Son *Vortimer* should possess all that part of *South Britain* which lay to the Eastward of *Walling-Street*, and *Ambrosius* all that lay to the Westward.

The-
King-
dom di-
vided
between
*Vorti-
gern* and
*Ambro-
sius*.

Fable of
Prince
Arthur.

Upon this Division the *Britons* united their Forces against the *Saxons*, and a great Battle was fought near *Wippedfleet* (*Ipswich* in *Suffolk*) where both sides claim'd the Victory. And in this War, our Novelist assures us, the famous Prince *Arthur*, being then fourteen Years of Age, made his first Appearance in the *British* Armies under *Ambrosius*. That he succeeded his Father *Gorlous* in the Kingdom of *Cornwal*, Anno 467, and fought the *Northumbrian Saxons* on the Borders of *Scotland*, and kill'd their King *Arcelute* in a Battle with his own Hand before he was eighteen Years of Age.

Vortimer

Vortimer being poyson'd by *Rowena* his *Vorti-*
 Mother-in-Law, *Ambrosius*, 'tis said, took *gern* and
 upon him the Title of Emperor, and driving *Vorti-*
Vortigern into *Wales*, shut him up in a Castle, *mer's*
 which by some Accident took Fire, and *Vor-* Death.
tigern perish'd in the Flames, after he had
 reign'd forty Years. *Ambrosius* renew'd the
 War afterwards against the *Saxons*, and ob-
 tain'd a signal Victory over *Ella*: but a Truce
 ensuing, Prince *Arthur*, who is celebrated for
 his Piety as well as Courage, took that Op-
 portunity of making a Voyage to the *Holy*
Land: from whence being just return'd, and
 the War breaking out again, he obtain'd
 another Victory over the *Northumbrian Saxons*.
Ambrosius was kill'd in a Battle with the *Sax-*
ons, as is mention'd already; whereupon King *Ar-*
 Prince *Arthur*, according to Tradition, was *thur* su-
 elected supreme Monarch of the *Britons* in his preme
 room. He was, our Novelist assures us, the Monarch
 fittest Person the People could have pitch'd
 upon, his very Name being terrible to the
Saxons. He was Crown'd at *Caerleon* in *Wales*,
 and soon after defeated the *Northumbrian Sax-*
ons again. But notwithstanding he was always
 victorious, as *Rapin* and the rest of our Ro-
 mantick Writers affirm, 'tis certain that the
Saxons continually gain'd Ground and esta-
 blish'd themselves in several Parts of *Britain*
 at that very time King *Arthur* is said to have
 been so very successful. He was mortally His
 wounded, according to *British* Tradition, in Death,
 a Battle with *Modred* his Kinsman, who was
 supported by the *Saxons* at *Camelford* in *Corn-*
wal, and afterwards carried to *Glastonbury*,
 where he died, being ninety Years of Age;
 He had spent seventy-six Years in defending
 his Country against the *Saxons*, and reign'd

supreme Monarch of the *Britons* thirty-four Years, as *Monf. Rapin* relates from some Writers of no great Authority; and he is reported to have instituted the Order of the Knights of the *Round-Table*. *Rapin*, from Writers of like Authority, says he succeeded to his Father's Kingdom of *Cornwall* in the Year 467, at fifteen Years of Age. In 476 he was created a Patrician by *Ambrosius*. In 508 he was elected supreme Monarch of the *Britons*: And in 528 assum'd the Title of *Emperor*, and died in the Year 542.

Exami- I have here made an Abstract of some of
nation of those Romantick Tales which *Monf. Rapin*
the pro- has glean'd from Writers of very mean Credit;
bability he has himself embellish'd them with such
of some Circumstances as he thought might be most
Facts re- taking with his Readers, and related them
lated by with that Assurance, as if he had all the Evi-
Monsieur dence imaginable of the Truth of the Facts;
Rapin, but he seems to have a particular View in
every Story he dresses up of establishing his
darling Doctrine of the Lawfulness and Expe-
diency of deposing Princes, and calling them
to Account when they presume to disobey their
Sovereign Lords the People.

King *Vortigern* he represents as a cruel ty-
rannical Prince, and hated of his Subjects;
while his Friend *Milton* on the contrary makes
him exceeding popular and belov'd for indul-
ging them in their Vices. Which different
Relations I shall leave the Party to reconcile
among themselves. The Story of his being
deposed by his Son is plainly a Forgery; for
those very Historians who give into it, set
him upon the Throne many Years afterwards,
and represent his Son *Vortimer* acting as one
of his Generals. His Amour with *Rowena*

is probably a Romance also, for had the procur'd those vast Advantages to the *Saxon* Nation which is pretended, we should certainly have had some Intimation of it in their Annals; but they are perfectly silent in this Matter.

There might be such a *British* General as *Ambrosius* possibly, but for his bringing over ten thousand Men from *Armorica*, and performing those particular Actions that are attributed to him, I see very little Authority for, any more than for the mighty Acts of the supposed King *Arthur*; for had they perform'd half those Wonders which are related of them, the *Saxons* would never have been able to have maintain'd their Ground in the Island. Whoever therefore reads the second Pamphlet of the Translation of *Rapin* with any other Design than to amuse himself for a few Hours with a well work'd up Novel, certainly throws away his Time. That Gentleman seems resolv'd there shall be no Chasms in our History; rather than want proper Incidents, he will endeavour to supply them himself a thousand Years after. He seems to think it a Disgrace in a Historian to be capable of doubting, or to speak with less Certainty of distant Times, in which we have no Records to guide us, than of things transacted within our Memory, and with which we are intimately acquainted. I do not censure *Monf. Rapin* as the only Writer who has been guilty of these Practices, I am sensible there are many others addicted to it; but thus much I must say, that this Rhetorical Gentleman exceeds all the Historians I have met with in working up an agreeable Novel, and adapting it to serve the Ends of his Party.

In

*Rapin's
Account
of the
Heptar-
chy.*

In the 155th Page of this precious History he informs his Readers, ' That by the Heptarchy is meant the Government of the Seven Kingdoms of the *Anglo-Saxons*, consider'd as united into one Body and one State. The Bond of this Union was their General in Chief, or if you will, their Monarch, chosen by the unanimous Consent of the Seven Kingdoms, and invested with certain Prerogatives, the Nature and Number of which we are not throughly inform'd of.

' Besides their Monarch, they had also, as the Center of the Heptarchial Government, an Assembly General, consisting of the principal Members of the Seven Kingdoms, or their Deputies. This is what they call'd the *Wittenagemot*, wherein the Affairs relating to the Nation in general were debated and regulated. Each Kingdom had also its Convention or Parliament, as we see practis'd in the *United Provinces* of the *Low-Countries*: And altho' each was Sovereign and Independent, yet were they all oblig'd to obey the Determinations of the Assembly General, because all gave their Consent to them." But surely nothing can be more

*Remarks
upon it.*

distant from Truth than this Account of the Heptarchy. Where does he meet with one single Instance of the Chief Monarch's being chosen by the unanimous Consent of the Seven Kingdoms? Is it not notoriously evident on the contrary, that this Superiority of one of the seven Kings over the rest was always founded in Force? Each of these Kings was at first an independant Monarch, and held by the Sword the Country he had acquir'd by it; till at length having subdued and dispossest the

the *Britons*, as a Reverend Writer observes, they fell into mutual Emulations and Wars among themselves, and the most powerful caus'd himself to be recogniz'd Sovereign of the rest. This is what almost every Historian agrees in ; so that if there was an Election, it was such a one as a Conqueror compels a vanquish'd People to make when he demands their Submission, on Pain of Military Execution ; and it is very natural to believe the Prerogatives of such Princes had no Bounds.

As to the *Assembly General* ; if he wou'd insinuate that this was the Representative Body of the People, and elected by them, his Friends must not take it amiss that we suspend our Belief in this Particular till we see some Proof of it produc'd. But if he means only that the Supreme Monarch summon'd the Grandees of the seven Kingdoms to his Council when the Good of the whole was to be consider'd, and that such an Assembly was stil'd the *Wittena-Gemot*, the Council or Assembly of Wise-Men, I shall very readily agree with him ; for there are few Sovereigns, perhaps, but advise with the Grandees of their respective Kingdoms in Matters that concern the general Good ; but to infer from thence, that these Councils consist of the Representatives of the People, that the several Sovereigns may be elected and deposed by them, and that no Laws can be made or alter'd without their Concurrence, are such Inferences as none but my Friend *Rapin* and his Brethren cou'd make.

He proceeds further to tell us, *That each Kingdom had its Convention or Parliament, as we see practis'd in the United-Provinces ; and altho' each was Sovereign and Independent, yet*
were

were they all oblig'd to obey the Determination of the Assembly General. But here he appears to be mistaken, not only in the Constitution of the old *Saxon* Government, but even in that of the *United-Provinces* at this Day; for neither any particular Province, nor so much as a single City in any Province, is bound to obey the Determination of the States General, till such Determination is consented to by every particular Province and City; notwithstanding there are Representatives from every Province in the Assembly of the States General, they cannot bind their Principals by their Determinations, but the Consent of every Province and City must be obtain'd to bind the whole.

This Gentleman, it must be admitted, in many Parts of his worthy History, makes a great Shew of Authorities and learned Quotations, but then they are usually brought to prove such Points as the Generality of Mankind are agreed in, and need very little Proof; but here, when he come to shew what the antient Constitution of the *Saxon* Government was, he does not quote one single Authority, or give us the least Colour of Proof to support his Opinion; which he certainly wou'd not have neglected if he had met with any for his Purpose, this being one of the principal Points he seems most concern'd to establish.

Ethelbert reduces the rest of the *Saxon* Kings under his Power.

It is agreed on all Hands, that during the *Saxon* Heptarchy, some one of the seven Kings exercis'd a kind of Dominion over the rest. *Ethelbert* King of *Kent* was the first who claim'd this Superiority, and carried his Pretensions so far as to make War upon those who refus'd him their Homage. Tho' his Kingdom

Kingdom was much the smallest, yet this Prince being descended from *Hengist* the first of the *Saxon* Kings, and having strengthen'd himself by an Alliance with the *French* King, whose Daughter he married, he thought himself in a Condition to give Law to the rest. This *French* Princess being a *Christian*, *Ethelbert* consented she should have the free Exercise of her Religion, and a Bishop to attend her, whose Name was *Letbard*. Before her Arrival the *Saxons* in general were *Pagans*, and if any of their *British* Subjects retain'd their Christianity, they were probably oblig'd to conceal it, or retire to their Brethren into the Mountains of *Wales* or *Cornwal*.

A.D. 593

Pope *Gregory* about the Year 596, hearing that a Daughter of *France* was married to the greatest of the *Saxon* Kings, thought it no improper Time to attempt the Conversion of this *Pagan* Nation: and accordingly appointed *Austin* and some other Monks to go to King *Ethelbert*'s Court, and sound the Inclinations of that Prince, who could not but have had some Knowledge of the *Christian* Religion from his Queen, or the Bishop who attended her to *England*; and if we should suppose that the Queen or the Bishop gave the Court of *Rome* some Intimation of the Seasonableness of attempting the Conversion of the *Saxons* at this time, it will not be the most unreasonable Supposition that ever was made: What is commonly said to be the Occasion of this Holy Embassy indeed was a pure Accident, some Children of the Province of *Deira*, as the Monkish Story goes, being brought to *Rome*, the grave *Gregory*, was pleas'd to pun upon their Country: Being informed they were Natives of *Angli* or

Conversion of the *Saxons*.

Angle-lond, he lamented that the Father of Darkness should have the Dominion of a People with such Angelick Countenances; and he thought it pity but they should be snatch'd *de ira*, from the Wrath of God, aluding to the Name of the Province of *De-ira* from whence they came. But methinks a better Conjunction could never have been found for the Conversion of this Nation, than when the most powerful Monarch of *Britain* had married a great Princess of the *Christian* Religion, and had a Bishop in his Court who constantly performed Divine Offices. The Pious *Gregory* needed no other Inducement to attempt the Conversion of the *Saxons* at this Time: Whether there be any thing therefore in the Story of the *English* Children being carried to *Rome* or not, does not seem very material: It is allowed on all Hands, that Pope *Gregory* sent *Austin* and several other Monks over hither on this Errand. As to the pretended Danger of this Expedition, and the Dreams and Visions these Apostles met with to encourage them in their Embassy; I do not lay any great stress on them, because there seems to me to be very little hazard in the Undertaking: The *Christian* Religion being already publicly profess'd by the Queen and her Family in the Capital City of the Kingdom. But every thing which comes from *Rome*, as one observes, must be attended with Miracles; it is generally agreed however, that *Austin* and about forty more *Italians*, and some of the *French* Nation (who were probably known to the Queen, if not nominated by her to come over on this Occasion) landed in the Isle of *Thanet* in the Year 597, of which King *Ethelbert* receiving Advice,

Advice, was so prepossessed in their Favour, it seems, that he order'd them to be entertained at his own Charge. As to his Suspicions of Charms or Witchcraft in the Matter, and meeting these Holy Ambassadors in the open Air for that Reason, least their Magick should affect him; there is all the Reason in the World to believe this to be pure Tradition, because the King had conversed with *Christians*, and even a *Christian* Bishop, for several Years before, and lain in the same Bed with a *Christian* Princess: And after all this, that he should be afraid to venture himself among *Christians*, is not extremely probable.

When the Missionaries were admitted to Father their Audience by King *Ethelbert*, one of *Austin* them advanced before the rest with a Silver Crucifix in his Hand, 'tis said, and as they approached the Royal Presence they sung to Audience by King *Ethelbert*. part of their Litany: After which *Austin* acquainted the King with the Design of their coming, and explain'd some of the principal Doctrines of the *Christian* Religion. To which the King answer'd, That the Things they offered had a very fair Appearance, but he must however take some time to consider of them, before he quitted a Religion which his Ancestors and the whole *English* Nation had long profess'd: But as they were Strangers, and had taken so long a Journey to communicate to him the Knowledge of such Things as they believed to be of great Importance to himself and his People, he should see them handsomely provided for while they remain'd here, nor should he prohibit their preaching to his Subjects, and making Proselytes among them. And he accordingly

order'd them a House in his Capital City of *Canterbury*, and Provision for their Table. And the Fathers by their Holiness and abstemious Way of Living, so won the Esteem of the People, that their Disciples multiplied apace. There stood, it seems, at this Time an antient *Christian* Church without the Eastern Gate of the City of *Canterbury*, which had been erected by *Roman* or *British Christians*, and dedicated to *St. Martin*, in which *Bertha*, King *Ethelbert's* Queen us'd to hear Divine Service: Here the Missionaries began first to Preach and Baptize and perform other Parts of their Function; but the King himself becoming their Proselyte the very first Year after their Arrival, convinc'd, as 'is said, by their Miracles and the Piety of their Lives, and multitudes immediately following the Example of their Prince, a more spacious Dwelling was provided for the Missionaries, and richly endow'd by the Royal Bounty. And *Austin* crossing over into *France* was by the Appointment of Pope *Gregory* consecrated Archbishop of the *English*, by *Eutherius* Archbishop of *Arles*. The King, 'tis said, gave all manner of Encouragement to his Subjects to embrace the *Christian* Religion, but compelled none; and as the Favour of the Prince and Preferments appeared so soon on the side of Christianity, there seems to be very little need of Compulsion, and less of Miracles, to convince the People of the Truth of the most reasonable Institution that ever was offer'd to the World: However, most of our Historians seem to be of Opinion that the Conversion of the *Saxons* was not effected without Miracles.

Father

Father *Austin*, now advanced to the Archiepiscopal Chair, repaired, or rather rebuilt, another *Christian Church* in *Canterbury* which had been erected in the Time of the *Romans*, and gave it the Name of *Christ's-Church* at the Dedication, appointing it to be the See of the Archbishop and his Successors. He also founded a Monastery on the East Part of the City, where he prevail'd on King *Ethelbert* to build the Church of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, design'd for the Interrment of the future Kings of *Kent*, and of the Archbishops of that See. So soon, says *Milton*, did they step up into Fellowship of Pomp with Kings.

Archbishop *Austin* intimating to the Pope that there was still a want of Preachers for the rest of *England*, the Pope sent over *Mellitus*, *Iustus*, *Paulinus*, *Rufinian*, and several other Ecclesiasticks, with an Archiepiscopal Pall, Altar-Cloths, Sacerdotal Vestments, Holy Vessels, Relicks and Books: And empower'd Bishop *Austin* to ordain twelve Suffragan Bishops, and an Archbishop of *York*, who was to have twelve Suffragans under him when that Part of *England* should receive the *Christian Faith*. The Pope at the same time also directed Letters both to King *Ethelbert* and *Austin*, fill'd with pious Instructions, whereby it appears that the Bishops of *Rome* were not then Strangers to the Temper of the primitive *Christians*.

Bishop *Austin* afterwards ordained *Mellitus*, and sent him to preach to the *East Saxons*, over whom *Sebert* the Son of *Sleda* and Nephew of *Ethelbert* then reign'd: and being dependant on the King of *Kent*, *Mellitus* here met with all imaginable Encouragement in his

Bishop's his Mission; *Sebert* himself was baptiz'd soon
See. after his Arrival, to Commemorate whose
 Conversion, 'tis said, *Ethelbert* founded the
 Church of *St. Paul's* in *London* to be the Ca-
 thedral of their Bishop, and endow'd it, of
 whom *Mellitus* was the first. He built also
 the Cathedral Church of *Roche-*
ster. *ster*, and de-
 dicated it to *St. Andrew*, endowing it with
 large Revenues; of which See *Justus* was
 consecrated the first Bishop.

A.D. 602 *Ethelbert* having thus establish'd *Christiani-*
Union *ty* in the Kingdoms of *Kent* and the *East*
between *Saxons*, propos'd a Union between the *British*
the Bri- and *Roman* Churches; and for that end de-
ish and *desired* a meeting of the *British* Ecclesiasticks
Roman with Bishop *Austin* and the *Romish* Missiona-
Churches *ries*; which being agreed to, Bishop *Austin*,
attemp- it seems, required that the *Britons* should con-
ted. form to the Church of *Rome*, as to the Time
 of celebrating *Easter*, and some other Points;
 which the *Britons* refusing, Father *Austin* was
 at the Expence of a Miracle for their Con-
 viction, restoring a Blind Man to Sight, if
 we may credit *Bede*; and with this, 'tis said,
 th *Britons* were so astonished, that they de-
 sired Time to consider of his Demands, and
 that there might be another meeting appoint-
 ed to receive their Answer.

To the second meeting came seven *Brit-*
ish Bishops, and several other Ecclesiasticks
 of the same Nation, among whom were some
 Monks from the Monastery of *Bangor*, a Con-
 vent so large as to contain one and twenty
 hundred Monks under seven Rectors, *Dinoth*
 being their Abbot at that time. It is repor-
 ted of an old Anchoret in this Cloyster, that
 when it was debated in their House whether
 they should submit to Bishop *Austin*, he ad-
 vis'd

vifed his Brethren, that if they found him Meek and Humble as a Disciple of *Chrift* ought to be, they ſhould have a regard for him; but if he appeared Proud and Haughty, his Miſſion could not be from God. When the *Britons* therefore came to the Place appointed, and found Biſhop *Auſtin* taking State upon him, and fitting on a kind of Throne, as the Pope's Legate and their Metropolitan, without ſtirring to meet and ſalute them, they were immediately prejudic'd againſt the Biſhop, and rejected his Demands, which were three. 1. That they ſhould conform to the *Romiſh* Church in the Celebration of Eaſter. 2. In the performing the Office of Baptiſm. And laſtly, aſſiſt in preaching to the *Engliſh Saxons*. And upon their Refuſal to comply with him, 'tis ſaid, *Auſtin* took upon him to denounce Judgments againſt them, or rather to threaten them with Deſtruction, and prevailed upon ſome *Saxon* Princes, 'tis ſaid, to make them good; particularly he incited *Ethelfrid* King of *Northumberland* againſt them, who ſacrific'd twelve hundred of their Clergy in one Day, that were come into the Camp to pray for the Succeſs of their Army. But others ſay, this did not happen till after Archbiſhop *Auſtin's* Death, who died in the Year 605. He was ſucceeded in that See by *Laurentius*, a *Roman* whom he had ordained in his Life-time.

The *Britons* re-
fuſe to
follow
the
Church
of *Rome*.

Auſtin's
Death.
605.

Ethelbert after the Death of Archbiſhop *Auſtin*, aſſembled a Grand Council of the Clergy and Laity, wherein he confirm'd all the Grants and Charters he had made to the Church, and granted ſeveral other Privileges and Immunities to the Clergy. In the Year 608,

608.
Scots
 conform
 to the
 Church
 of Rome.
Westmin-
ster Abby
 founded,
 611.
Ethel-
bert's
 Death.

Apostasy
 of the
Saxons.

608, 'tis said, Archbishop *Lawrence* prevail'd with the *Scottish Christians* to conform to some of the *Romish Rites*, especially as to the Observation of *Easter*. And in the Year 611, *Sebert*, King of the *East Saxons* and Nephew of *Ethelbert*, founded the Abby and Church at *Westminster*, which was Consecrated by *Mellitus* Bishop of *London*, and Dedicated to *St. Peter*. *Ethelbert* died in the Year 616, having been King of *Kent* fifty-six Years, and twenty-three supreme Monarch of *England*, about twenty Years after his Conversion to Christianity, which he endeavour'd to advance wherever he had any Influence in the Island. He was succeeded in his Kingdom of *Kent* by his Son *Eadbal'd*, who being a Vicious Prince, and finding greater Liberties allow'd in a State of Paganism than under the *Christian Dispensation*, apostatiz'd, and became so profligate as to take his Father's second Wife to his Bed. With their Prince great part of the *Kentish Nation* relaps'd into Idolatry; the People being ever influenced by the Example of the Court. In the Kingdom of the *East Saxons*, also upon the Death of King *Sebert*, his three Sons and most of the People relaps'd into Paganism. The Sons of *Sebert* indeed could scarce be accounted *Christians*, not having been Baptiz'd; and coming into a Church after the Death of their Father, where *Mellitus* the Bishop was administering the other Sacrament, they required him to deliver them the consecrated Bread as he us'd to do to their Father, which he refusing till they should be Baptiz'd, he was driven in Disgrace out of the Kingdom, and travelling into *Kent*, where he found Christianity in much the same State, he left the Nation, and with *Iustus* Bishop of *Rochester*

chester went to *France*. *Eadbald*, our pious Historians tell us, was afflicted with an evil Spirit for his Apostasy, and often fell into Fits of Distraction; and the three Sons of *Sebert* perish'd in a Battle with the *West Saxons*, which they would have the Reader look upon as a Judgment for their Impiety. *Eadbald* however returned to the Bosom of the Church, it seems, in less than a Year's time, and became a mighty Penitent, dissolving his Incestuous Marriage with his Father's Widow. The Reason of which Reformation I find attributed to a Vision of the Archbishop's, who as the Legend tells us, having made Preparations to follow the other Bishops to *France*, and spending the Night before he was to set out in Watching and Prayers in *St. Peter's Church*, that Apostle appear'd to him, and did not only reprove him for his Cowardize, but gave him several Lashes for attempting to desert his Flock, which shewing to *Eadbald* next Morning, the astonish'd King and all his Subjects earnestly desired to be received again into the Pale of the Church. But the People of *London* and the rest of the Kingdom of the *East Saxons* remain'd some time longer in their Apostasy.

Redwald the second King of the *East Angles*, *Redwald* obtain'd the Dominion of the rest of the King of *English* Monarchs upon the Death of *Ethelbert*. This Prince had been Baptiz'd in *Kent* in the Reign of *Ethelbert*, but relapsed again to Paganism on the Persuasion of his Queen. 'tis said. However he was for keeping fair with all Religions, and therefore erected one Altar to Christ, and another to his Pagan Deities in the same Temple. *Redwald* gained the Ascendant of the rest of the *Saxon Kings*

in this manner: *Edwin* of the Royal Blood of the *Northumbrian Saxons* fled to his Court for Protection against *Ethelfrid* the reigning King who sought to destroy him, and *Redwald* refusing to deliver him up to the *Northumbrian* King, a War ensued, wherein *Ethelfrid's* Army was defeated, and himself kill'd in the Field of Battle: Whereupon *Redwald* set his Friend *Edwin* upon the Throne of *Northumberland*, and thereby became the most powerful of all the *Saxon* Princes. He reigned about six Years after this Victory, and dyed in the Year 624, having been forty four Years King of the *East Angles*.

624.
Edwin
the third
supreme
Monarch

Edwin King of *Northumberland* upon the Death of his Benefactor *Redwald*, assumed the Title of supreme Monarch of the *English*, and carried his Arms further, his said, than any of the *Saxon* Kings his Predecessors; for he extended his Conquests to the furthest Bounds of *England* to the North West, and reduced the Isles of *Anglesey* and *Man*. Having buried his first Wife, he made Court to the Princess *Ethelburga*, Daughter to the great *Ethelbert*, King of *Kent*, and it being objected to him, that a Christian Virgin could not marry an Idolator. He answered, That the Princess and her Court should be at Liberty to exercise their Religion openly, and if he found it upon Examination to be more rational than his own, he should make no scruple of embracing it himself. Whereupon the Lady consented to be his Queen, and *Paulinus* a *Roman*, being consecrated Bishop of the *Northumbrians*, attended the Lady to King *Edwin's* Court, but with no great Success till the following Year, when *Quincellin* King

King of the *West Saxons*, envying King *Edwin's* Grandeur, hired a Person to assassinate him with a poyson'd Ponyard: The Villain having obtain'd Admission to *Edwin's* Presence, and being just about to strike the fatal Blow, a Servant of the King's who stood by, seeing him lay his Hand upon the Dagger, threw himself between the Murderer and his Prince, and receiv'd the Wound intended for his Master; but the Blow was struck with such a good will, that it pierced his Majesty notwithstanding; and the Weapon being poyson'd, the Wound was apprehended to be very dangerous. The Murderer was immediately cut to Pieces, but kill'd another of the King's Servants however before he was dispatched. The King lying ill of the Wound he had received, promised to *Paulinus*, 'tis said, that if Christ would grant that he should recover, and give him the Victory over his perfidious Enemies, he would become a Christian; both which afterwards happening, and *Edwin* returning Home Victorious, he caused himself and his Court to be instructed in the Christian Religion, and the whole Nation almost received Baptism, tho' some say, he delay'd declaring himself a Christian, till *Paulinus* work'd a Miracle for his Conviction; however that be, it is generally agreed that *Paulinus* was soon after made Bishop of *York*, and a Church erected there for the solemnizing his Majesty's Baptism. *Edwin* also proceeded to propagate Christianity in the other Saxon Kingdoms, and particularly prevail'd on *Eorpwald*, King of the *East Angles*, to become a Christian: He set himself also to see Justice duely administred through his Dominions, and rendred the Country so secure, that a

Conversion of
the Nor-
thum-
brians.

Edwin's
kill'd.

633.

Woman or a Child might have travelled safely from Sea to Sea, 'tis said, without any Molestation. But this good Prince, it seems, lost his Life in a Battle with *Cadwallo*, King of the *Britons*, and *Penda* the *Mercian*, who had rebell'd against him in the Year 633, being about six Years after his embracing Christianity.

This Defeat of *Edwin* brought great Calamities on the *Northumbrian* State and Church, for *Penda* the Conqueror being still a *Pagan*, and the *British* King, his Allie, of a Brutish Disposition, they committed unheard of Outrages in the Country. *Cadwallo*, it seems, vow'd he would extirpate the whole Nation, notwithstanding they then professed Christianity; for *Bede* relates, that in his time the *Britons* look'd upon the Christianity of the *Saxons* to be little better than *Paganism*, so violently were they prejudiced against it. Queen *Ethelberga* with her Children, and Bishop *Paulinus*, were forced to fly into *Kent* for Refuge, where they were well received by King *Eadbald*, and *Paulinus* made Bishop of *Rochester*, in which See he dyed. *Cadwallo* still continued to ravage *Northumberland*, till being surprized by a small Army commanded by *Oswald* the Son of *Ethelfrid* (by *Edwin's* Sister) he was entirely routed; whereupon *Oswald* obtained not only the Crown of *Northumberland*, but became the next supreme Monarch of the *English*.

Oswald
the
fourth
supreme
Monarch

Oswald proved no less zealous in propagating Christianity than his Predecessor *Edwin*. He procur'd Preachers from the *Scots*, among whom he had been baptized, to endeavour the restoring the *Christian* Religion in his Dominions, which had suffer'd much during the

the late Wars. And Bishop *Aidan*, a Monk of great Piety, was sent into *Northumberland* with some others, to whom the King assigned *Lindesforme*, now *Holy-Island*, for their Residence. Never was there a Prince of greater Devotion, Meekness and Charity, than King *Oswald*, according to our Ecclesiastical Writers. He submitted even to interpret the Sermons of the *Scotish* Missionaries to his People, 'tis said, delighted in feeding the Poor in Person, and would sometimes cause the Plate they were served in to be broken in Pieces and distributed amongst them. The *West Saxons* were converted to *Christianity* about the second Year of his Reign, with *Cynegils* their King, whom *Oswald* received out of the Font, and gave him his Daughter in Marriage. The *East Angles*, 'tis said, returned to the Bosom of the Church the following Year: For *Sigibert*, Brother of King *Eorwald*, a Man of Piety and Learning, having been instructed in the *Christian* Religion during his Exile in *France*, succeeding his Brother in that Kingdom, brought over several Preachers and Learned Men with him, and particularly *Felix*, a *Burgundian* Bishop, who chose *Domoc* or *Dunwich* in *Suffolk* for his See: And not long after erected a great School, which some will have to be the first Foundation of the University of *Cambridge*. *Oswald* met with the same Fate his Predecessor had done, being killed in a Battle with the same *Penda* King of *Mercia*, who defeated *Edwin* near *Oswestree* in *Shropshire*, after he had reigned eight Years.

The Kingdom of *Northumberland* was divided into two Principalities upon the Death of *Oswald*, as it had been several times before.

Oswy,

Cambridge University founded.

650.
Oswy the
 fifth su-
 preme
 Monarch
 of the
English

Oswy, a Bastard, half Brother to *Oswald*, possessed himself of that Part called *Bernicia*. And *Oswin*, a Nephew of the famous *Edwin*, made himself Master of that Part called *Deira*. *Oswy* met with great Opposition in the Beginning of his Reign from *Ethelwald*, the legitimate Son of *Oswald*, as he did from *Oswin*, who reigned for seven Years in *Deira*; but *Oswy* at length defeated his Competitors, and procured *Oswin*, who has the Character of a very pious Prince, to be delivered up to him by Earl *Hunwald*, and put him to Death. Whereupon he united the two Kingdoms of *Deira* and *Bernicia* again, and became not only sole King of *Northumberland*, but the fifth supreme Monarch of the *English* Nation.

Oswy, 'tis said, afterwards became a great Penitent: And to expiate his Offence in murdering *Oswin*, founded a Monastery upon the Place: He also procured the Conversion of *Penda* the Son of *Penda* the *Mercian*, by marrying his Daughter *Alfreda* to him, upon the Condition of his becoming a *Christian*. *Penda* afterwards introducing Preachers from *Northumberland*, many of the *Mercians* were converted; but *Penda* still remaining a *Pagan*, and an Enemy to *Oswy*, a Battle was fought between them, wherein *Penda* was defeated and killed upon the Spot, which our Ecclesiastical Writers make no less than a Miracle, assuring us that the *Pagan Mercians* were thirty times more numerous than the *Northumbrian Christians*. This they look upon also as a Judgment on *Penda*, whom, they tell us, had been the Death of four or five *Christian Kings*, and therefore it may be supposed,

posed, caused an universal Joy among the Christians.

Oswy having now established his Domi-Synod a-nion, summoned a Synod of *English* and *about Ea-Scottish* Bishops, to settle the great Dispute *ster.* about the time of celebrating the Feast of *Easter*. The King enclining to the *Romans* in this Dispute, the *Scots* were unsatisfied with it, and such as had Bishopricks or Preferments in *England* returned home to their own Coun-try. About this time, *Theodore*, a Native of *Greece*, being made Archbishop of *Canter-bury*, the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, and the Liberal Arts were by him introduced among the *Saxons*. *Oswy* died in the Year 670, of a Fit of Sicknels, wherein he had vowed to go in Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*, if God would restore him, to atone for the Blood of *Oswin* and some others he had unjustly put to Death during his Reign, but he did not live to per-form his Vow.

Wulfar, King of *Mercia*, became chief Monarch of the *Saxons* on the Death of *Oswy*, subduing the *Northumbrians*, and afterwards the *West Saxons*, taking from them the Isle of *Wight*. He was once a *Pagan*, but embracing *Christianity*, he commanded his *Heathen* Idols to be demolish'd, and the Gospel to be preached in all parts of his Dominions. About this time many considerable Monas-teries were founded in *England*, it was no un-common thing among the *Saxon* Princes to re-sign their Crowns, and retire into Monasteries.

Wulfar having reigned about four Years, dyed, and was succeeded by his Brother *E-the-Isbelred*, the third Son of King *Penda*. He did not only keep the King of *Northumber-land* in Subjection to him, but carried his Arms

670. *Wulfar* of *Mercia* the sixth su-preme Monarch

675. *EtheIsbelred* the se-venth su-preme Monarch

Arms to the Southward as far as *Kent*, where King *Lotber* now reigned, destroying that Kingdom in a terrible manner: And notwithstanding he was of the same Faith, he demolished their Churches and Religious Houses, and drove *Putta*, the Bishop of *Rochester*, out of the Country into *Mercia*, where he was reduced to teach the Liberal Arts to get his Bread. About this time the *South Saxons* received the *Christian* Faith by the Preaching of Bishop *Wilfrid*, and now the whole Kingdom of *England* professed the same Religion. In the following Year (*viz.*) 679, a Synod was summoned by *Theodore*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to meet at *Hatfield* in *Hertfordshire*, in which were received the Canons of the five general Councils of *Nice*, *Constantinople*, *Ephesus*, *Calcedon*, and another Council of *Constantinople*; with some Constitutions made at *Rome* by a Synod held under *Pope Martin* in the Year 648, which *Pope Agatho* sent into *England* this Year. About this time also was brought from *Rome* the Order and Course of Reading and Singing Divine Service, as practised there. In this Reign *Ina*, King of the *West Saxons*, collected and published a Body of the *Saxon* Laws, wherein it appears that scarce any Crime, even Murder it self, was punished any otherwise than by a Pecuniary Mult. King *Ethelred* having reigned about thirty Years, 'tis said, was struck with Remorse for the Ravages he had committed in the beginning of his Reign, especially in Churches and Religious Houses, and thereupon founded the Monastery of *Bardney* in *Lincolnshire*, whither he retir'd, and took upon him the Religious Habit, dying Abbot of the Place. But is it not

All En-
gland
convert-
ed to
Christi-
anity.

679.
A Synod
held and
their
Canons.

679.
Ethelred
the 1st
King of
the
West
Saxons
founded
the
Monastery
of
Bardney

not as probable that the Occasion of his Retiring was the Sense of his having usurped a Throne which belonged to his Brother's Son *Kenred*? For upon his Resignation, it seems, he passed by his own Son *Ceolred*; and appointed *Kenred* for his Successor. A much better Argument that the *Saxons* had a regard to Hereditary Succession, than twenty Precedents of Usurpations would be to the contrary. As many Estates possibly may be gotten by Fraud and Injustice, as are obtained by Purchase or Descent: But this will scarce ever convince any considering Man, not interested in the Fraud, that a Possession obtained by Force and Injustice can ever grow up into a Right, so long as there are any Persons living who can shew a Title to the Estate by Purchase or Descent.

Kenred, who succeeded his Uncle *Esbelfred* in the Kingdom of *Mercia*, as well as in the Monarchy of the *English*, did not reign above four Years before he followed the Example of his Predecessor, and resigned his Crown, appointing his Cousin *Ceolred* to succeed him: After which he travelled to *Rome* with *Offa* King of the *East Saxons*, and there they both took upon them the Habit of Monks, and at length dyed in a Cloyster of that City.

Ceolred succeeding to the Kingdom of *Mercia*, and the supreme Monarchy of the *English*, reigned in Peace for some time; till *Ina*, King of the *West Saxons*, aspiring to the Honour of Supreme Monarch, commenced a War against him, and a Battle was fought between these Princes near *Wodensbourg* in *Wiltshire* in the Year 715. but what was the Success of it does not appear. The Year after *Ceolred* giving an Entertainment to some

Kenred
the
eighth
supreme
Monarch

704.

Ceolred
the ninth
Monarch

709.

of his Nobility and great Men, was possessed with an evil Spirit, 'tis said, and died in Despair; which the Clergy held was a Judgment upon him for his Familiarity with the Nuns. But if it be observ'd how they call for the Judgments of Heaven upon every Prince, and Person almost, they do not like, the numerous Examples they give us of Judgments in those times upon Princes and People, will have the less weight with us. And for my own part, I must say, I am so far from looking on many of these Occurrences as Judgments, that I am not always satisfied of the Truth of the Facts: what they call Possession and Witchcraft, may probably oftener be ascribed to natural than supernatural Causes.

716.
*Es-
hel-
bald the
tenth
supreme
Monarch*

*Peter
Pence.*

*Saxon
Kings
retire in-
to Cloy-
sters.*

Etzelbald succeeded his Cousin *Ceolred* in the Kingdom of *Mercia*, and is esteemed supreme Monarch of the *English* also; but *Ina*, King of the *West Saxons*, seems to be the most powerful Prince at that time, for he defeated the *East Angles* in several Engagements: And in the Year 725 made an entire Conquest of the Kingdom of the *South Saxons*, killing *Aldwin* their King, and adding his Dominions to his own: So that now the seven *Saxon* Kingdoms were reduced to six. He laid a Tax of a Penny on each House for the Use of the Pope, which was afterwards called *Peter Pence*, and paid generally all over *England*. *Ina*, after all his Successes, resigned his Crown and went to *Rome*, where he died in a Monastery; this being reckoned, in those Days, the surest Passage to the Kingdom of Heaven. On the Resignation of *Ina*, *Etzelbald* may well be stiled the greatest Monarch of the *English*, for he commanded all the

the Kings on the South of the *Humber*; and the Nation enjoying at this time a profound Peace, many of the Nobility and others, after the Examples of their Princes who had led the way, retired into Monasteries, and not a few of them went as far as *Rome* to shut themselves up in Cloysters.

But notwithstanding this strain of Devotion which possessed all sorts of People in the Reign of *Ethelbald*: We are told at the same time, that Vice never was more Triumphant, Fornication, Adultery, Perjury, Drunkenness, and even Murders were Vices very frequent, for which, 'tis said, only some slight Penances were inflicted. King *Ethelbald* himself, we are informed, slighting Marriage, took what Women he pleased to his Bed, Nuns as well as others; and the Nobility and People in general follow'd his Example. *Ethelbald* being reproved by the Pope's Legate for these Enormities, 'tis said, endeavour'd to compound for them by Works of Charity and Grants to Holy Church; and we can account no other Way for the Vice as well as the Devotion which this Age is said to be addicted to, but that when People had been extravagantly wicked, they look'd upon it that retiring to a Cloyster in their Old Age to say their Prayers and perform some pious and Charitable Acts, would atone for the Crimes of an ill spent Life. And this Persuasion possibly gave rise to many of our Religious Foundations; as we find in our Days, that the most notorious Sinners frequently build Hospitals. *Ethelbald* having Reign'd about forty Years, was engaged in a War with the *West Saxons*, when *Beornred* form'd a Conspiracy against him, and treacherously kill'd him

And yet
a Vicious
Age.

in hopes of Usurping his Throne; but the Traytor did not long survive it, for he was kill'd by *Offa* before he could accomplish his Design.

756.
Offa the
eleventh
supreme
Monarch

Offa succeeded his Cousin *Ethelbald* in the Kingdom of *Mercia*, and supreme Monarchy of the *English* about the Year 756. He seems to be a Prince Ambitious of Fame, and determin'd to reduce the rest of the *Saxon* Kingdoms under his Dominion if possible; He first attempted that of *Kent*, where he defeated King *Aldrick*, and ravaged the whole Country in a terrible manner. He afterwards attacked *Kenwulph*, King of the *West Saxons*, under Pretence of his having assisted the *Kentish* Monarch; but the *Britons* uniting all their Forces, and falling upon the Kingdom of *Mercia*, he was compell'd to make Peace with his *Saxon* Neighbours for the present; and turn his Forces against *Wales*. Whereupon the *Welch* abandon'd all the Plain Country between the Rivers *Wye* and *Severn*, retired to their Mountains; and *Offa* order'd a large Trench to be made, which reached from Sea to Sea, to restrain their Excursions; some part whereof, 'tis said, may be seen at this Day, and is called by the *Welsh*, *Clawdd Offa*, or *Offa's Ditch*.

Peter
Peace

Saxon
King

Tyths
first paid
in *Eng-*
land.

Offa Reign'd many Years afterwards without a Rival, and obtain'd *Litchfield* to be made an Archbishoprick, with Jurisdiction over all the Bishops of *Mercia* and *East England*; and being oppos'd in it by *Jambert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he seized upon all the Lands belonging to that Archbishoprick in his Dominions. A Synod was also assembled by this Prince at *Calawith*, where *Tyths* were first order'd to be paid

in

in England, and declared to be due of Divine Right, *Charles the Great*, who was in Alliance with *Offa*, also sent him over a Book of Synodical Decrees, and among the rest a Decree of the Council of *Constantinople*, declaring that the Images of Saints ought to be ador'd; against which one *Albinus* or *Alcuin* wrote a Book, in the Name of all the Bishops and Great Men of the *English* Nation, 'tis said, and presented it to the *French* King.

In the thirtieth Year of King *Offa*, three Ships of *Danes* or *Norwegians* arriving in the West of *England*, and the Collector of the King's Duties at *Dorchester* coming to take an Account of them as usual on the Arrival of any Foreign Ships, they fell upon him, killing him and all the Company that were with him; and having committed some other Outrages in the Country, retreated to their Ships. Three or four Years afterwards several other Ships of *Danish* Rovers landed in the North, plundering the great Monastery of *Lindisfarne*, and carrying several of the Monks as well as other People into Captivity.

Offa seems to deserve the Character of a cruel ambitious Prince; for *Ethelbert* King of the *East Angles*, making his Addresses to the Princess his Daughter, and being openly well Entertain'd by King *Offa* in a Friendly manner, was at the Instigation of the Queen, 'tis said, who might not approve of the Alliance, treacherously murder'd in his Palace, and his Kingdom seiz'd on by *Offa*, and added to his own. However, in a Fit of Devotion he afterwards repair'd to *Rome*, about the 37th Year of his Reign, where by way of Attainment he made the Pope a Present

of

of *Peter Pence*, or *Rome-Scot*, in Imitation of *Ina* the *West Saxon* King. He made also rich Presents to the Pope in consideration of his canonizing *St. Alban* the first *British* Martyr, and founded a fine Church and Monastery near *Verulam* where he suffer'd, endowing them with large Revenues as a further Testimony of his Repentance. Also on his Return to *England*, he devoted a tenth Part of his Goods to Pious and Charitable Uses: Built the Monastery at *Bath*, as also the Cathedral Church of *Hereford*, and another great Church at *Warwick*: And died in Peace about the Year 794, at a Village near *Hitchin* in *Hertfordshire*, which from this Prince, 'tis said, obtain'd the Name of *Offley*. He was afterwards Interr'd at *Bedford*, in a Chapel on the Banks of the River *Ouse*.

794.
Egferth
the 11th
supreme
Monarch

Egferth the Son of *Offa* succeeded his Father, who had let him into a Share of his Government, and caused him to be Crown'd King nine Years before his Death. He restor'd whatever had been taken from the Church, which gave him a great Character among the Ecclesiasticks; but this good Prince reign'd but a few Months after his Father, and left his Kingdom to his nearest Relation

Kenwolf
the 12th
and last
supreme
Monarch
of the
Mercians.

Kenwolf, who in the second Year of his Reign defeated *Eadbert* King of *Kent*, and made him Prisoner; however, about two or three Years after, upon the Dedication of a great Church erected by him at *Winchcombe* in *Gloucestershire*, in the Presence of his Nobility and a great Concourse of People, he led the Captive King to the High Altar, and there without any Ransom or Application made to him, released *Eadbert*, and restor'd him to his Kingdom. *Kenwolf* Reign'd some

Years

Years afterwards in Peace, and was the last of the *Mercian* Kings who enjoy'd the supreme Monarchy of the *English*.

I come now to treat of *Egbert* King of the *West Saxons*, who reduced all the other Kingdoms under his Obedience, and put an end to the Heptarchy. This Prince was descended from *Ingild* the Brother of King *Ina*, and was the nearest in Blood to the *West Saxon* Crown when *Birtbrick* Usurp'd his Throne, and would have taken away his Life if he had not fled first to *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, and afterwards to *Charles the Great*.

Egbert
King of
the *West*
Saxons,
the first
sole Mo-
narch of
England.

Egbert being a Prince of bright Parts, improved by a liberal Education, became still better qualified for Government by his Observations on Foreign Courts, and seem'd to deserve the Empire he afterwards acquir'd, the best of any of the Princes of his time. While *Egbert* remain'd in Exile at the Court of *Charles the Great*, he received Advice that *Eadburga* the Wife of *Birtbrick* the Usurper, having prepared a Draught of Poyson for one of his Ministers, against whom she had some Spleen, her Husband *Birtbrick* by Accident drunk of the same Cup, and having languish'd some time, died in Torments. Soon after arriv'd a Deputation from the Nobility of the *West Saxons*, inviting him to take Possession of his Throne; and he was receiv'd in that Kingdom with the Universal Acclamations of the People.

A.D.800

King *Egbert* having regulated his Domestic Concerns, and establish'd himself in the Affections of his Subjects, endeavour'd next to restrain the Incursions of the *Britons* in *Cornwal* his Neighbours, and had to good Success

Success in this War, that he was no more troubled with their Incursions. Some few Years after he oblig'd the Britons of Wales also to pay him Tribute.

Beornwolf King of *Mercia* observing the growing Greatness of *Egbert* with Jealous Eyes, found some Pretence to declare War against him; and a Battle was fought between them at *Ellundune* in *Wiltshire* about the Year 823, in which *Egbert* obtain'd the Victory, which he took care to improve, by sending a Detachment of his Troops immediately after the Battle, commanded by his Son *Ethelwolf*, to reduce the Kingdom of *Kent*, which was found an easy Conquest; their King *Baldred* quitting his Dominions and flying beyond the *Thames* without striking a Stroke. At the same time the *South* and *East Saxons* made their Submission, and the *East Angles* also implor'd *Egbert's* Protection. He afterwards turn'd his Arms against *Mercia*, and having made a Conquest of that Kingdom, he suffer'd *Witlof* their Prince, and some other of the *Saxon* Princes, to retain the Name of Kings, with some little Authority, after the Manner of the *Romans*, making them his Instruments to keep the People in Subjection to him.

The *Northumbrians* now only remain'd unconquer'd, but they were so broken with intestine Divisions, that they were able to make but little Opposition. That Liberty of setting up and dethroning Kings at Pleasure, which some amongst us so much contend for, they enjoy'd to their wish; and had murder'd so many of their Princes, that, as I said, none had the Courage to accept the Regal Dignity for thirty Years together. The Confusion

fusion this People were in gave great Encouragement to the *Danes* to infest their Coasts, and was the principal Reason of the Success those Pyrates met with on that Side. And when *Egbert* appear'd in the North, there being no Prince or General to oppose him, he had no more to do than to demand their Submission, they immediately consented to become his Liege Subjects.

C H A P. IX.

Contains the History of England from the Union of the Saxon Kingdoms under Egbert, to the Establishment of the Danish Monarchs; with an Account of the Wars between the English and Danes, for the Space of two hundred Years.

THE Heptarchy being now dissolved, 828.
and *Egbert* become sole Monarch of *South Britain*, caused himself to be Crown'd *Britain* at *Winchester*, and commanded his Dominions first call'd *England*. for the future to pass under the Name of *Engle land* or *England*. Some hold that it had been call'd so long before, from the *Angles*, the most numerous Clan of *Saxons* who settled here; for they possess'd, as has been intimated already, the Kingdoms of *Northumberland*, *Mercia*, and *East England*. But tho' this Country might formerly be call'd *England* in Conversation, it was not so term'd in any Act of State till the Reign of *Egbert*.

When this Victorious Prince had thus reduced all the *Saxon* Kingdoms into one, it might have been expected that the Nation should have enjoy'd an uninterrupted Peace

for some short time at least: But another Flood of Northern People out of those very Countries from whence the *Saxons* came, denominated *Danes* and *Normans*, breaking out about this time, infested the *English*, *Belgick*, and *Gallick* Shores, committing unheard of Outrages wherever they came; and some of them not long after subduing the Northern Part of *France*, gave it the Name of *Normandy*.

Here it may be proper to observe another Mistake of my Friend *Rapin* and his Brethren, who take it for granted that People multiply in cold Countries much faster than they do in Temperate Climates, and to this ascribe the frequent Excursions and Ravages of the Northern People in several Ages. (*Rapin*, p. 295.)

Now it must be acknowledg'd that the *Scythians* of old, the *Saxons*, *Normans*, *Danes*, and *Tartars* of later Date, have frequently over-run the more Southern Countries of *Asia* and *Europe*; notwithstanding which every Traveller must observe that the more Temperate Climates are ever better Peopled than those that lye far North or South, unless thro' Bigotry and Superstition, or false Policy, the Natives are expell'd the Country or condemn'd to Celibacy. Have not all or most of the considerable States and Empires that ever were in the World been fix'd in Temperate Climates? And can we suppose that the Extremities of those Empires were better peopled than those Parts which lay nearest their respective Capitals? Neither the *Babylonian*, *Assyrian*, *Grecian*, or *Roman* Empires lay in the cold barren Regions of the North, any more than those of *Peru* and *Mexico* in the other Continent:

continent: Are *Norway*, *Muscovy*, or *Tartary* at this Day better Peopled than those Countries that lie to Southward of them? Or are the Extremities of North and South in the Continent of *America* better Peopled than the Middle of it? Whoever has seen these Countries must be convinc'd of the contrary. Nor is there any Necessity at last to resort to this false Suggestion, and suppose, that because the Northern Nations have frequently overrun those of the South, that therefore People multiply faster in the North than in the South? No; admit but that they encrease as fast in cold Countries as in warmer Climates, and we cannot want sufficient Reasons for these Northern Excursions; for every Traveller knows that in the Extremities of North or South, there are none of those numerous Herds of Cattle; none of those fine Corn-fields, Pastures, Vineyards, and Gardens that we meet with in more temperate Climes; and consequently those cold Countries cannot subsist such Numbers as the warmer Countries do. What was more natural therefore than for the People of the North when they found themselves half famish'd with Cold and Hunger, to turn their Eyes upon the fruitful Countries to the Southward of them, and put in for a Share of their Corn and Fruits? This was the true Spring of all the Northern Expeditions. First they only plunder'd their more Southern Neighbours and retired Home with their Booty from time to time, but reflecting at length on the Happiness the Southern People enjoy'd, they proceeded to expel them and possess their Seats.

If it be demanded how this could be effected, when the Southern People were more

numerous; I answer in the First place, that many of the Northern Nations were usually united in these Expeditions; and Secondly, they frequently fell upon the Southern Nations when they were weaken'd by their Intestine Divisions. Thirdly, the Northern People, who got their Food chiefly by their Arms and Hunting, were more active and hardy than those of the South, soften'd by too much Ease and Plenty, and unless there be regular Troops to oppose the Inhabitants of the Woods and Mountains, they will always be an Over-match for the Low-Lands. We see when the *Romans* withdrew their Forces from *South Britain*, how the *Picts* and *Scots*, the Inhabitants of the Highlands and Inaccessible Parts of *North Britain*, harra's'd and distress'd the *Britons* of the South, and this will always be the Case, where there are not regular Troops to oppose such Mountaniers. The Natives of those frozen Regions are us'd to Arms and Exercise from their Infancy, and consequently always prepar'd to ravage the Territories and Estates of their more wealthy Neighbours, who leaving the Defense of their Country to mercenary Troops, whenever these happen to be withdrawn, or they fall out among themselves, are constantly made a Prey to the Northern Nations, continually watching to better their own wretched Condition, and exchange their barren Mountains for a more fruitful Soil. But to return from this Digression.

The
Danes
Land in
Kent.

A.D. 832

The first considerable Descent the *Danes* made on the Coast of *England*, in this Reign, was at the Isle of *Shippes* in *Kent*, Anno 832.

The next Year they landed at *Charmouth* in *Dorsetshire*, and were so very strong, that

'tis

'tis said, they defeated the *English* Army commanded by *Egbert* in Person. However, this was probably but a small Body, perhaps the Troops of a single Province; for the *Danes* retired to their Ships again under an Apprehension that greater Forces would soon be assembled against them.

About two Years after another Fleet of *Danes* arrived in the *West* of *England*, and entering into a Confederacy with the *Cornish Britons*, ventured to engage King *Egbert* a second time, but he was now better prepar'd to receive them, and gave them an entire Defeat.

The following Year, 836, King *Egbert* died at *Winchester*, where he was buried, being about thirty-six Years after his Accession to the *West Saxon* Crown, and nine Years after he had Reign'd Sole Monarch of *England*.

Egbert was succeeded in all his Dominions by his eldest Son *Ethelwolp*. This Prince, 'tis said, had his Education in the Monastery of *Winchester*, and been a Monk, and Bishop of that See; and upon his Father's Death, with great Importunity of the Nobility, was prevail'd on to take the Regal Government upon him, being absolv'd from his Vow by Pope *Gregory* the 4th. Soon after this Accession, he committed the Government of *Kent*, and of the *South* and *East Saxons* to *Aibelftan* his Brother, or as some say, his Son; but what Relation he bore to the King I perceive our Historians are not agreed.

836.

Ethelwolp
the 2d
King of
England.

The *Danes* made several Descents upon the Coast in the beginning of this Reign; but more for Plunder than the Hopes of establishing themselves here at first: They land-
ed

ed particularly at *Southampton* and *Portsmouth*, and on the Coast of *Kent*; sometimes their Parties prevailing, and at other times defeated by the *English*: About the 7th Year of this Reign they surpriz'd *Canterbury*, *Rocheſter*, and even *London* itſelf; ravaging all the Country in a moſt barbarous Manner. But the peaceful *Ethelwolp* being at length awaken'd with theſe repeated Devaſtations, and the Miſeries of his Subjects, in the ninth Year of his Reign engag'd them, and gave them ſuch a Deſeat that the Nation was at quiet from their Depredations for fix Years after.

In the fifteenth Year of this Reign theſe *Daniſh* Rovers return'd again, and landing in *Kent*, plunder'd *London* a ſecond time; defeating afterwards the Viceroy of *Mercia*: But marching into *Surrey*, they were attack'd by King *Ethelwolp* in Perſon, who obtain'd a compleat Victory over them. In *Kent* and *Devonſhire* other Parties of the *Danes* alſo were repulſed, and forced to fly to their Ships.

853. And *England* now enjoying ſome Peace, the pious *Ethelwolp* ſent his youngeſt Son *Alfred* to *Rome*, being then about five Years of Age, to receive the Pope's Benediction. The *Danes* however return'd again ſoon after, and landing in *Kent*, fought another Battle with the *English*, where both Sides claim'd the Victory; but the *Danes* probably had the Advantage, for they proceeded in their Devaſtations as formerly. The King and his

Grant of
the
Tyths

Nobility looking upon theſe Calamities as a Punishment for their Sins, we are told, by way of Attonement, granted, or rather confirm'd the Tyths of all their Lands for ever to the Church, freed from all Charges and Taxes whatſoever. This Grant the King offer'd

offer'd at the High Altar in the Cathedral Church of *Winchester*, causing it to be publish'd by the Bishops in all the Churches of their respective Dioceses.

About the Year 855, King *Ethelwolp* travell'd to *Rome*, where he resided a whole Year, and repair'd the *English* School which *Offa* King of the *Mercians* had erected in that City: He return'd to *England* thro' *France*, where he married *Judith*, the Daughter of the Emperor *Charles* the *Bald*. In his absence a Conspiracy was form'd against him, in which it was intended to have set his eldest Son *Ethelbald* upon the Throne, which this peaceable King was so far from resenting, that he voluntarily consented to share his Dominions with his Son in his Life-time: And soon after finding his Health decline, tis said, he confirm'd that Donation to his eldest Son *Ethelbald*, and disposed of the rest of his Territories to his second Son *Ethelbert*; but probably subordinate to *Ethelbald*, for he is generally reckon'd sole Monarch after his Father. He died on the 13th Day of *January*, 857, and was buried at *Winchester*, having Reign'd upwards of twenty Years.

There remains very little upon Record of *Ethel*-the Life or Actions of *Ethelbald*, only 'tis said he was a voluptuous Prince, and so in Love with his Father's Widow *Judith*, that he married her; but being reprov'd for it by *Switbin* Bishop of *Winchester*, he parted with her and became a great Penitent; and having Reign'd about three Years, died on the 20th of *December*, 860, being buried in the Cathedral of *Sherburn* in *Dorsetshire*.

Ethelbert 860. *Ethelbert* the second Son of *Ethelwolph* succeeded his Brother in the whole Monarchy; in whose Reign the *Danes* landed with a numerous Body of Forces, and plunder'd even his Capital City of *Winchester*, but were overtaken in their Return by *Osrick* Earl of *Southampton*, and defeated, being compell'd to abandon all their Booty: They sail'd however to the Isle of *Tbanet*, and took up their Winter Quarters there, ravaging the Country about them in their usual Manner; but a considerable Body of Troops assembling on that side, they were again driven to their Ships. There are no other memorable Actions recorded in this Reign; only it is said in general, that *Ethelbert* was a pious virtuous Prince; and having Reign'd five Years, died much lamented, and was buried near his Brother *Ethelbald*, in the Cathedral Church of *Sherburn*.

Ethelred 1st. 866. *Ethelred* the third Son of *Ethelwolph* succeeded his Brother *Ethelbert*. Soon after his Accession a great Body of *Danes* under the Command of two Brothers, *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, made a Descent in *East England*, and clapping up a Truce with that part of the Country, remain'd there all the Winter in order to provide themselves with Horses against the ensuing Summer, when they pass'd the *Humber*, and advanc'd as far Northward as *York*, which they burnt and plunder'd with the whole Country about it. The next Year the *Danes* penetrated into *Mercia*, and took up their Winter Quarters at *Nottingham*: Whereupon *Burhed*, King or rather Viceroy of that Country, sending to *Ethelred* for a Reinforcement; he assembled his Forces and came to their Relief in Person; the *Danes* here-

hereupon shut up themselves in the strong Towns and Fortresses, and avoided coming to an Engagement, till a Truce was concluded, whereby it was agreed that the *Danes* should abandon *Mercia* and return to *York*. The next Year however they marched to the Southward again, and destroy'd the famous Abby of *Bardney*, killing all the Monks they found there, and continu'd to destroy the County of *Lincoln* with Fire and Sword. Whereupon the Nobility of that part of *England*, with some brave Knights, and even Monks of *Croyland* and other Abbeys, assembled to oppose them, and gave them Battle; but were over-power'd by the *Danes*, and most of them cut in Pieces. Then they march'd to *Peterborough*, *Huntington*, and *Grantbrig*, now *Cambridge*, carrying Ruin and Desolation with them wherever they came, particularly they destroy'd the fine Monastery of *Ely*, and kill'd the Monks, besides a great Number of other People who had retir'd thither as to a Place of Security. The next Year they took up their Winter Quarters at *Tetford* in *Norfolk*, where *Edmund* the Titular King of that Country giving them some Opposition, was defeated, and being taken Prisoner, was tied to a Stake, where they first Whipp'd him and then shot at him with their Arrows, and having given him many desperate Wounds, at length ordered his Head to be cut off. He was afterwards buried at a Place in *Suffolk*, call'd from thence, *St. Edmund's-Bury*. But how he came by the Title of *Martyr*, unless all *Christians* who lose their Lives in opposing *Infidels* are to be accounted such, is not easy to conceive.

How it came to pass that King *Ethelred* sat still in the West all this while, and neither brought or sent any Reinforcements to his distress'd Subjects in the East, History does not inform us; but since he would not move to meet the *Danes*, it seems they resolv'd to give him a Visit in the West. *Ethelred* hearing of their Approach, assembled his Troops, and advanc'd to meet them as far as *Reading*; and so equally were these Powers match'd, that in four or five Battles which were fought between them or their Generals in as many Months, there was none of them prov'd Decisive. In the latter end of the Summer the Plague raged in *England*, of which some relate King *Ethelred* died, but others say he died of his Wounds received in the last Battle with the *Danes* Anno Domini 872.

Alfred
872.

Alfred the fourth Son of King *Ethelwolpb*, and Grand-Son of *Egbert*, at twenty-two Years of Age succeeded to the Throne on the Death of his Brother *Ethelred*, but in such tempestuous Times, that the Crown seem'd scarce worth the accepting; for it was not a Month after the solemnization of his Brother's Funeral, when he was obliged to appear at the Head of his Army, and came to a Battle with the *Danes* at *Wilton*, where after an obstinate Engagement, he was forc'd to leave the Field to his Enemies; and in this one Year, according to the *Saxon Annals*, no less than eight or nine Battles were fought between them, in which the young *Alfred's* Conduct was such, that the *Danes* were glad to come to a Treaty, and consent once more to quit the Kingdom. However the following Year they returned again, pene-

penetrated as far as *Reading*, and from thence marched to *London*, where they took up their Winter-Quarters.

The next Summer they marched Northwards, and having deposed *Burberd*, the titular King or Viceroy of *Mercia*, who fled beyond Sea, they let out his Dominions to Farm to *Ceolwolf*, one of his Ministers, and then march'd further Northward, destroying all the Country as far as *Scotland*. Nor were the *Picts* and *Scots* intirely free from their Devastations there. King *Alfred* observing that all these Calamities proceeded from his Enemies being Masters at Sea; for he had no sooner defeated one Body of them, but fresh Troops came daily pouring in upon him, he set himself principally to encrease his Shipping; and was so successful in his first Sea-Expedition, that he drove one of their Squadrons from the Coast which was coming over with fresh Troops, and made Prize of one of their Ships.

The Danes however having subdued all the North and East Part of *England*, ventured again into *West Saxony*, but were so warmly receiv'd there by *Alfred*, that they were forc'd to come to a Treaty with him; wherein they promised to abandon the Country again. However this perfidious People discovering some Advantage, broke the Treaty and surprized *Exeter*, where they maintain'd themselves the following Winter: And their King *Hafden* looked upon himself to be so secure in *Northumberland*, that he had parcelled out the Country among his Followers, who began now to cultivate the Lands in those Parts, looking upon them as their own.

The next Year a great Fleet of *Danes* coming with fresh Recruits upon the *West Sax-on* Coast to support their Friends in *Exeter*, were most part of them destroy'd, either by Tempest, or the Shipping of King *Alfred*, who was then at the Siege of *Exeter*; and the Besieg'd being acquainted with the Misfortune of their Friends, agreed to surrender the City, and march all their Troops out of *West Saxony*; from whence they mov'd towards *Mercia*, where they propos'd to fix themselves, and begun to parcel out the Lands amongst them, leaving their Viceroy *Ceolwolf* but a very small part of the Country.

878.
The
Danes
entire
Masters
of the
open
Country.

The Year following the *Danes* return'd into *West Saxony* again, and were so successful that they made themselves Masters of all the open Parts of the Country, obliging King *Alfred* himself to fly to the Woods and Bogs for his Security, with only some few Followers, insomuch, that neither the *Danes* or his own Subjects, knew whether he was dead or living. Here they tell us, that being in a poor Shepherd's Cot, and frequently busying himself in cooking their Food, he was reproved by his Landlady for letting the Cakes on the Hearth be over-bak'd. From this low Estate however, Historians observe, he was soon rais'd; but this, according to them, could not be effected without Visions and Miracles, which they never fail to furnish us with in every considerable Revolution or Turn of Fortune.

There were, it seems, but very few Castles or Places of Strength in *England* in these Times, insomuch, that if an Army happened to be Defeated, the Woods and Mountains were

were the only Places almost they had to Retreat to ; one Castle however we have an Account of at *Kenwith* in *Devonshire*, Garrison'd by King *Alfred's* Troops, which very much harrassed the *Danes*, and was so troublesome, that they resolved to sit down before it, under the Command of their King *Hafden* ; but the *English* made so many brisk Sallies, that the *Danes* were compell'd to raise the Siege. King *Alfred* observing the Advantage of building Fortresses to restrain the Incurfions of the *Danes*, caused another to be built at *Atbelney* in *Somerſetſhire*, from whence he frequently iſſued with his Troops, and fell upon the *Daniſh* Parties ; and his Subjects finding him now in ſome Condition to protect them, joined him from all Parts, inſomuch that he found himſelf in a ſhort time at the Head of a conſiderable Army again : But apprehending the Enemy ſtill to be ſuperior to him in numbers, before he would venture upon an Engagement, he thought it proper to be well inform'd of the Condition of the *Daniſh* Forces in thoſe Parts, and accordingly, if *Ingulph* and *Malmesbury* do not impoſe upon us, he diſguiſed himſelf in the Habit of a Fidler and went into the *Daniſh* Camp, by which means he procur'd himſelf to be introduced to ſome of the Generals Quarters, and at length to their King's, where having found in what a careleſs Security the whole Army lay, he returned again to his Camp, and commanding the Troops to their Arms, he marched with the utmoſt Secrecy and Expedition, and ſurprized the *Danes*, giving them one of the greateſt Deſeats they had met with ſince their arrival in *England*. Whereupon a Treaty followed ; in which it was agreed, that the

Danes

Danes should march out of *West Saxony* into *East Saxony* and *East England*, of which Countries King *Alfred* consented to make a Cession to them; and another remarkable Article was agreed to, namely, that *Guthram* the *Danish* King should become a *Christian*, who was Baptiz'd accordingly, and King *Alfred* receiving him from the Font gave him the Name of *Athelstan*.

885. Soon after this Treaty however another Fleet of *Danes* arrived in the *Thames* Mouth and sail'd up as high as *Fulham*: King *Alfred* being convinced there was no other way to prevent their Insults than by encreasing his Navy, apply'd himself with greater Diligence than ever to the building of Ships; and in about three Years he assembled such a Fleet as pretty well clear'd the Seas of the *Danish* Rovers, to whom those of *Mercia*, *East Saxony* and *East Angles* having given some Assistance, *Alfred* marched against them, and retook the City of *London*, which had been a considerable time in the Possession of the *Danes*; rebuilding the ruined Churches and other publick Buildings, restored it to its former Beauty, committing it to the Governmen of Earl *Ethelred*, to whom he gave his Daughter *Ethelfleda* in Marriage; and made him Viceroy of the *Mercians*: And King *Alfred's* Forces being every where Victorious, the *English* returned again to their Habitations in *Mercia*, *Kent* and *East England*, from whence they had been driven by the *Danes*; and the Nation was freed from their Incurfions for about the space of eight Years.

886.
Alfred
restores
Learn-
ing, and
founds
the Uni-
versity of
Oxford.

During this Calm, King *Alfred* apply'd himself to the restoring of Learning, and improving of Arts and Sciences, which were

at

at a very low Ebb in *England* at this time, insomuch that it was rare to find a Lay Man who could read his Mother Tongue, or a Priest who understood Latin: He invited therefore *Grimbald* and *John* the Monk to come over from *France*, and *Affer* out of *Wales* (the last of whom afterwards wrote his Life) and placed them at *Oxford*, where he erected Schools for instructing Students in Grammar, Philosophy and Divinity in the Year 886, which is look'd upon to be the first Foundation of the University of *Oxford*.

This Prince also repair'd and beautified such Towns as had been demolished by the *Danes*; and caused many others to be built, besides several Castles and Fortresses in proper Places to restrain the Incurfions of the *Danes*, if they should attempt to land again. To King *Alfred* also is ascribed the dividing of the Kingdom into Counties, Hundreds, Tythings and Parishes, as we find it at this Day; and the Instituting the Offices of Sheriffs and Justices of Peace. He gave himself also the trouble frequently, we are told, of reviewing and examining the Judgments and Decisions of his Judges and Ministers; insomuch that Justice was never more impartially administered, or the People better secured in their Properties than in this Reign: And for Thefts and Robberies they were scarce ever heard of, if we may credit the Historians of those Times.

But all these glorious Institutions and Regulations were interrupted by another numerous Descent of *Danes* and *Normans* in the Year 893, who having invaded *France*, and meeting with greater Opposition than they expected there from the Emperor, *Arnulf*
em-

The
King-
dom di-
vided in-
to Coun-
ties Hun-
dreds and
Parishes.

Sheriffs.
Justices
of Peace.

embarqu'd again at *Bologn* in two hundred and fifty Vessels and came over to *England*, landing in *Kent*, where they fortified themselves. And not long after another Fleet of eighty Sail enter'd the Mouth of the *Thames*: With these join'd the *Danes* of *Northumberland*, *Mercia* and *Essex*; notwithstanding the Caution *Alfred* had taken of making them swear Allegiance to him, and receiving Hostages of them; so that the whole Kingdom was in a short time in the utmost Distraction again, and the *Danes* once more made themselves Masters of the City of *Exeter*. *Alfred* however secured *London* and *Rocheſter* from their Depredations, and probably his being in this Part of *England* with his Forces, gave them the Opportunity of surprizing *Exeter*. The Plague as well as the Sword raged also in *England* at this time, and took off several of the Generals and Great Officers in King *Alfred's* Court. But notwithstanding all these terrible Calamities, our Historians talk nothing of Judgments in this Reign as in others; for *Alfred*, it seems, was a pious Prince after their own Hearts, and protected Holy Church; and notwithstanding all these Distractions, they will have it there never was a more virtuous Age, or a Time when Thefts and Robberies were less frequent, or Justice more duely Administred. Which seems very difficult to believe, and makes it easily discernable that this Prince's Life was written by one of his Creatures, who was resolved he should want no one good Quality; for tho' he might, and probably did deserve a great deal of Honour to be paid his Memory, yet it seems impossible in the Circumstances he was, to have done all those great Things which are ascribed to him.

897.

For

For they say he was not only exercised by these outward Troubles above-mention'd, but there was scarce a Day from his Infancy he was free from the most exquisite Pains and Aches: That tho' he had an infirm and shatter'd Body, no Prince ever had a more Heroick Mind, and when his Fortunes were lowest he was a Terror to his Enemies. That he fought fifty-six Battles with the *Danes*, but yet found time to regulate the Civil Affairs of the Kingdom; and did not only teach the liberal Arts himself, but even instructed the Mechanics in their several Professions; and in his greatest Pains retain'd an even affable Temper, not to be discomposed. But what crowned all, according to our Historians was, that he heard Sermons attentively, and most effectually loved the Bishops and Clergy; which must no doubt cover a Multitude of Faults, and in effect we see these good People in return for his Affection towards them, have left him not one single Failing; but on the contrary have furnished him with such a Stock of Graces and Virtues as nothing in Human Shape was ever Master of before or since. One who took his Character from them, breaks out in a kind of Extasy, and sums it up in this Manner: "O *Alfred*, the Wonder and Astonishment of all Ages! If we reflect upon his Piety and Religion, it would seem that he had never gone out of a Monastery. If on his Warlike Exploits, that he lived no where but in a Camp. If on his Writings and Studies, that he spent his whole Life in a University. And if we regard the Administration of the Affairs of his Kingdom and Subjects, one would think that his whole time had been employ'd in

‘ nothing else but enacting Laws, and promoting Justice in his Courts;

This Prince died in the fifty-first Year of his Age, and the 30th of his Reign, on the 25th of *October*, A. D. 900, and was buried at *Winchester*.

900. *Edward the Elder* *Alfred* was succeeded by his eldest Son *Edward*, usually called *King Edward the Elder*. The beginning of his Reign was disturbed by the Pretensions of his Cousin *Ethelwald*, said to be the Son of *Ethelred* his Father's elder Brother, who joining with the *Danes*, invaded *Mercia*, and was very near wresting the Scepter out of the Hands of *Edward*; but a great Battle being fought between them in the Year 905, in which *Ethelwald* was kill'd, a Peace was concluded with the *Danes*, which continued till the Year 910; and the Breach of it the *English* Writers, according to Custom, ascribe to the Perfidiousness of the *Danes*. But however that be, King *Edward* made this a Pretence to march his Army into *Northumberland*, compelling the *Danes* to submit to his own Terms. The *Danes* notwithstanding return'd his Visit the next Year, marching into *Mercia* destroying all they met with, till the King's Forces engaged them, and gave them another memorable Defeat at *Canbridge* in *Gloucestershire*: Whereupon a Peace ensuing, the King repaired several Towns which had been destroy'd in the Wars, and built others. And tho' the *Danes* made some other Attempts to disturb King *Edward's* Reign, being always defeated, some of them were compell'd to fly beyond Sea, and the rest at length submitted to his Government; as did the *Scots* and *Britons*. So that he is look'd upon

upon to have had a more extensive Command in this Island than any of his Predecessors. He reign'd about twenty-four Years, and died at *Farrington* in *Berkshire* Anno 924, being buried near his Father in the Monastery of *Winchester*.

King *Edward* left five Sons and nine Daughters behind him. The Names of the Sons were *Ethelward*, *Atbelstan*, *Edmund*, *Edred* and *Edwin*. *Ethelward* dying a few Days after his Father, is not reckon'd in the Number of our Kings; but there may be this further Reason for it, namely, because King *Edward* appointed *Atbelstan* his Successor: To whose Title it has been objected indeed, that he was born before his Father married his Mother; but if it be considered that in those Days the Sons before Marriage were esteem'd as Legitimate as those born afterwards, there is very little in that Objection: And admitting it had been otherwise, the King having appointed Prince *Atbelstan* his Successor, this alone was sufficient to give him a Title; the Kings of *England* having then a Power of disposing of their Crowns to what Prince of the Royal Family they saw fit.

King *Atbelstan* came to the Throne at thirty Years of Age, and was Crown'd at *Kingston* upon *Thames*. He is said to be a Prince of great Parts, to which was added a Liberal Education, and in all respects became the Royal Dignity. In the beginning of his Reign *Ingauld* a *Danish* King surprized *York*, and *Sitbrick* the *Danish* King of *Northumberland* march'd into *Cheeshire*; but *Sitbrick* meeting with a greater Opposition than he

expected, made his Submission : And *Atbelstan* gave him his Sister *Edgetha* in Marriage, upon Condition he should be first Baptized, to which *Sisbrick* consented ; but dying not long after, *Atbelstan* thereupon added *Northumberland* to the rest of his Dominions ; and now reign'd in *England* without a Rival ; *Godefrid* the Son of *Sisbrick* flying for Refuge into *Scotland*, and his Brother *Anlaf* into *Ireland*. Sometime after *Godefrid* having assembled an Army, made an Attempt to recover his Inheritance ; and was in a Condition, it seems, to lay Siege to the City of *York* ; but being obliged to retire from thence, he went to Sea with four or five Ships, subsisting himself and his Followers by plundering the Towns on the Coast, and the Prizes he took at Sea.

938.

Anlaf the other Brother assembled a Body of *Danes*, and being assisted by the King of *Scots*, march'd with a numerous Army into *England* ; whereupon an obstinate Battle was fought in *Northumberland* between the *English* on one side, and the *Scots* and *Danes* on the other ; in which 'tis said more Men were kill'd than in any Battle since the *Danes* first infested the *English* Shoars.

Turketile the Chancellor with the Troops of *London*, 'tis said, did Wonders here, killing *Constantine* the *Scottish* King in the Field of Battle ; whereupon the *Scots* and *Danes* fled, leaving the Victory to the *English* ; which so establish'd King *Atbelstan*'s Reputation among the Princes of *Europe*, that the Emperor *Henry* sent to court his Alliance, and to desire he wou'd give one of his Sisters in Marriage to his Son *Otho* ; *Hugh* King of *France*

France desir'd another for his Son, and *Lewis* Prince of *Acquitain* a third for himself: and from all these Princes came Ambassadors with rich Presents, such as had never been made, 'tis said, to any *English* Monarch before.

King *Athelstan* afterwards invaded the *Welsh*, and oblig'd *Ludwal*, the greatest of their Kings, to pay the following Annual Tribute, viz. Twenty Pound weight of Gold, Three Hundred weight of Silver, Twenty-Five Thousand Oxen, and whatever Hounds and Hawks he shou'd demand. He march'd afterwards against the *Western Britons*, many of whom 'tis said still remain'd in *Exeter*, and other parts of *Devonshire*, and enjoy'd Estates and Possessions promiscuously with the *English*, these he oblig'd to retire into *Cornwall*, making the River *Tamar* their Boundary.

This King having subdued his Enemies, spent the last part of his Reign in cultivating the Arts of Peace, revising the Laws, and regulating the Courts of Justice: The Penalty for Murder, as has been observ'd already, was but pecuniary in these Times, even the Murder of a King was set at 30000 Pieces of Silver call'd *Thrimsa's*, reckon'd to be about three Shillings a-piece. The Murder of an Archbishop was valued at half as much: a Bishop or Alderman at 8000 *Thrimsa's*; a General's at 4000; a Priest's at 2000, and a Husbandman at 267 *Thrimsa's*. This Prince having reign'd with great Applause fifteen Years and upwards, dy'd at *Gloucester*, in the Year 940, and was buried at *Malmesbury*. The only Blot our Historians observe on his Memory was the Death of his Brother *Edwin*,
of

of whose ambitious Views, 'tis said, he had entertain'd some Jealousy, and therefore order'd him to be turn'd a-drift out at Sea, in a rotten Boat without Sail or Oars, or any Provisions; and in this manner he perish'd; some say he jump'd over-board in Despair, and drown'd himself; but the whole Story is held to be a Fiction by other Historians, and no where recorded by any Writer of Credit in those Days, but in some Songs and Ballads. It was in this Reign also that *Guy of Warwick* is said to have engaged the *Danish* Giant *Colebrand*, and kill'd him; but possibly the Credit of both Relations are pretty near equal.

940.
King *Ed-*
mund.

Edmund, the second Son of *Edward* the Elder, and Brother of *Athelstan* the late King, succeeded to the Crown in the Month of November, *A. D.* 940, being then about eighteen Years old: But notwithstanding we have all the Reason in the World to believe from the History of the preceding Reigns, that the *Danes* in *England* were intirely subdued, and that they were not possess'd of any one Town or Province in the Kingdom, the very first Occurrence we meet with in this Reign is the invading *Mercia* by King *Edmund*, and his dispossessioning them of the Cities of *Leicester*, *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Stamford* and *Darby*; and the Reason of it is said to be, because *Anlaf* the *Danish* King of *Northumberland* had made some Incursions into the *English* Territories: So that here we find the *Danes* not only in Possession of the large and powerful Province of *Northumberland*, but of the best Towns in *Mercia*, if not of the whole Province,
which

which contain'd the very Heart of *England*; which is scarce reconcilable with the Accounts given us of the former Reigns, and of the Victories said to be obtain'd by King *Edward* the Elder and *Athelstan*; from whence we cannot avoid inferring, that the Conquests of those Princes must have been magnified beyond measure, and that the *Danes* still maintain'd their Ground in *Northumberland* and *Mercia*; or if they submitted to the Kings of *England*, it was upon Condition of enjoying what they had acquir'd. They were too considerable a part of the Nation at this time to be driven from their Habitations and treated like Slaves. If the *English* Monarchs did gain an Advantage of them at any time, it was dangerous proceeding to Extremities, the Consequence of which wou'd have been the calling in more Reinforcements from abroad; to avoid which, it is not improbable but they were induc'd to let the *Danes* who were settled here enjoy very ample Privileges, and in some Provinces to be govern'd by their own Princes, as we find they were in this very Reign in *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*. And so Potent was *Anlaf* King of *Northumberland*, that he advanc'd Southward as far as *Northampton*, whither King *Edmund* march'd to oppose him; but the Matter ended at length in a Treaty it seems, wherein they settled the Boundaries of their respective Kingdoms; and it was further agreed, that *Anlaf* shou'd be baptiz'd, and King *Edmund* stand God-father to him.

This Peace however did not last more than two Years, when King *Edmund* march'd into *Northumberland*,

Northumberland, and drove his Godson *Anlaf* out of that Country, and afterwards reduc'd *Gumberland*, and made a Cession of it to *Malcolm King of Scots*, on Condition he should assist him in his Wars. King *Edmund* afterwards reigning in Peace, enacted several wholesome Laws and Constitutions, built and endow'd some Churches and Religious Houses, and particularly gave the Town of *St. Edmund's-Bury* and its Dependencies to the Monks of that Cloyster, and conferred many Privileges on the Abby of *Glastonbury*. But as he was entertaining some of the Nobility on the Festival of *St. Austin* at one of his Palaces in *Gloucestershire*, a notorious Robber whom he had banish'd, coming into the Assembly, the King was so provok'd at his Insolence, that he seiz'd him himself, and throwing him on the Ground, the Villain drew a Dagger in the Scuffle, and stabb'd the King to the Heart, and wounded several others in the Company before he was kill'd. Thus died King *Edmund*, after a short but glorious Reign, of six Years and six Months, *A. D.* 946, and was buried at *Glastonbury*, where *St. Dunstan* was then Abbot: The Town where King *Edmund* died being granted to that Monastery to sing Masses for the Repose of his Soul. He left two Sons, namely, *Edwi* and *Edgar*, very young; whereupon *Edred* the younger Brother of *Edmund*, took upon him the Administration of the Government, probably as Guardian to his Nephew *Edwi*: However, our Historians having plac'd him in the Number of our Kings, I shall treat him as such.

Edred

Edred was the third Son of King *Edward* the Elder, and perform'd many glorious Actions during his Administration, and particularly we are told he subdued *Northumberland*, which the Reader can't but observe our Histories relate had been brought into Subjection to the *English* at least ten times already, and notwithstanding this new Conquest, as it is stil'd, we find their King *Anlaf* in great Power afterwards, and that *Eric*, another *Danish* King of *Northumberland*, engaged *Edred* in a Battle, where the Success, according to the *English* Writers, was very doubtful; but the Victory at length enclining to *Edred*, 'tis said he made an entire Conquest of that Province, deposing their King, and committing the Government to an *English* Earl for the future. *Edred* died of a languishing Distemper in the Year 955, having had the Administration of the Government about nine Years and an half, leaving two Sons behind him, namely, *Alfrid* and *Bertfrid*, neither of which pretended to the Crown on the Death of their Father, which amounts to a Demonstration almost that what is call'd the Reign of *Edred* was no more than a Guardianship to his Nephew *Edwi*, who who took the Government into his Hands on the Death of his Uncle, being then arrived to fourteen Years of Age.

Edwi, the Eldest Son of King *Edmund*, was Crown'd at *Kingston* upon *Thames*; and being a very beautiful Youth, obtain'd the Name of *Edwi the Fair*: He was of a Constitution exceeding Amorous, and as the Monks relate (whose Enemy it seems he was) so devoted to the Ladies, that he withdrew from the Coronation Entertainment to shut himself up in an Apartment with his beloved

946.
Edred.

955.
Edwi.

Algiua, who at last appears to be his Queen, by the Archbishop's divorcing them. The Monks indeed relate, that she and her Mother were both his Concubines, and that the good *St. Dunstan* found him on a Bed between them on the Coronation Day, and compell'd him to return again to his Seat in the Assembly. That the King still refusing to abandon the Society of these Women, they dragged *Algiua* out of the Palace, scarify'd and defac'd her Beauty with hot Irons, cut the Sinews of her Hams, and then banish'd her into *Ireland*. They afterwards incited a Rebellion of his Subjects, and actually dispossef'd him of great part of his Dominions, and this upon account of his lascivious Actions, and his Enmity to *St. Dunstan* and the Monks in general, as is pretended. But others relate that the foundation of the Quarrel was, that *St. Dunstan* refus'd to deliver up the Royal Treasure to *Edwi*, which *Edred* the former King had entrusted to him; That *Dunstan* hereupon rais'd these malicious Stories, which he found little difficulty in persuading his credulous Brethren to believe, and they thereupon preach'd him down among the People, who were in those Days extremely devoted to them.

This might well exasperate their Prince against them, and induce him to dispose of some of their Revenues among the honest Secular Clergy, as we find he did; a Crime however never to be forgiven by the Brotherhood; and had he in all respects been the most deserving Prince that ever Reign'd, we must not have expected a better Character of him. But from their own relation, how vicious soever the King might be, nothing cou'd

be more cruel and barbarous than their Behaviour to him : Supposing *Algiva* was a Concubine, she was it seems of the Blood Royal, and to drag her out of the Palace by force, to tear off her Flesh with hot Pincers, and cut her Sinews ; and after all to raise a Rebellion against his Person, and wrest his Dominions from him, What was there to justify such Practices ? Has a Prince no longer a Title to his Dominions than he continues a Saint, and submits himself to be governed by Ecclesiasticks ? If so, what must have become of many who have Reign'd since the unfortunate *Edwi* ? But this is very observable of the Saints of those days, as well as of some later times, they first incite Insurrections against their Princes and deprive them of their Dominions, and then leave it upon Record that their Misfortunes were Judgments upon them for their Incontinence or other Vices ; ruining their Reputations by the same Calumnies they first ruin'd their Fortunes. But to proceed, having procur'd Archbishop *Odo* to excommunicate the King, and usurp'd part of his Dominions, they tell us he died of Grief, after a short unfortunate Reign of four Years. If we consider that this Prince, against whom these Monks were so enraged, was but fourteen Years of Age at his Accession to the Crown, and scarce eighteen when he died, it must render their Disloyalty still more inexcusable in dealing so treacherously and unmercifully by him, before he was out of his Minority. But no Allowances are to be made for the Heat of Youth or natural Infirmities, or any regard paid to the Dignity of a Prince, when the Saints are touch'd in point of Interest. This King died in the Year 959, and

abem Y 2

and was buried in the new Monastery at *Winchester*.

Edgar. To *Edwi* succeeded his Brother *Edgar*, at sixteen Years of Age. This Prince having been set up by the Monks against his Brother in his Life-time, may well be suppos'd to be entirely in their Interest, or rather Management, considering his Age. He is generally stil'd *the Peaceable* from the uninterrupted Peace he enjoy'd during his whole Reign. One great reason of which probably was, that he was generally better prepar'd for War than his Predecessors, especially at Sea, where he had such large Fleets as almost exceeds belief; for he was sensible he had little to apprehend from the *Danes* which were settled here, if he could prevent their being join'd by their Friends abroad. He equipp'd therefore three, some say four, large Fleets, consisting of twelve hundred Sail each, of what Burthen History does not inform us, it is probable that they were Gallies row'd with Oars, of no very great Bulk; it being impossible at that time of Day to have mann'd so many large Ships with Mariners; and they seem to have been made like those of their Enemies the *Danes*, only for Summer Expeditions; in Winter they rarely put to Sea in those Days; but soon after *Easter* every Year these Fleets were commanded to their respective Rendezvous; one to the *Eastward*, not far from the *Thames* Mouth, another in the *West*, a third in the *Irish* Channel, and the fourth in the *German* Ocean: And this King frequently sail'd in Person in each of these Fleets, as far as he had appointed them to Cruize, and going from one to the other surrounded the whole Island in the sailing Season. He made

made the famous St. *Dunstan*, who had been such an Enemy to his Brother, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who carried his Resentment so high against *Elgiva*, 'tis said, that not content with having mangled her so barbarously in the late Reign, he now prevail'd on the young King to put her (that Adulteress, as the Monks stile her) to Death. But how she was an Adulteress does not appear, for we have no intimation in Story that she was ever married to any but the late King.

Another thing St. *Dunstan* and his Brethren put the young King upon was, the depressing the Secular Clergy, whom the late King had favoured, and which was probably the real ground of their Spleen against him. They persuaded him also to build and endow a great number of Monasteries, which, with those built before prov'd a great weakening to the Nation, as is generally apprehended, it occasioning so many useless Hands, and lessening the National Treasure; for their Revenues were not to be touch'd without their leave; and when the *Danes* afterwards invaded the Kingdom, 'tis said, they flatly refus'd to contribute towards the opposing them. It's not without Reason therefore, that some have affirm'd, that the building so many Monasteries contributed as much as any thing to the Success of the *Danes*.

But to proceed, King *Edgar*, 'tis said, observing that the *Danes* had introduc'd Drunkenness, and it was now become a very common Vice among the *English*, order'd certain Pins or Seals to be fix'd to the drinking Cups, beyond which it was not lawful to fill them; whereas we Seal our Glasses that every Man may have Justice done him, and

not

not balk his Glass. But methinks this Law of King *Edgar's* in stinting Peoples Draughts was hardly practicable without an Officer in every House to see it put in Execution, which I presume the Government seldom was at the Charge of.

He gave some Monkish Bishops also a Commission to enquire into the Lives of the Secular Clergy, which 'tis said were scandalous enough, tho' possibly not much worse than those of the Regulars. But the principal Reason of this Inquisition seems to be to deprive the Secular Clergy of ther Preferments, and to step into their Places; which has more than once been the drift of our over-zealous Reformers.

Another laudable Custom of King *Edgar's* was, his annually visiting some part of his Dominions, and hearing the Complaints of his People, enquiring into the Conduct of his Judges and Officers, and seeing that Justice was duly Administred. And so extensive was his Dominion, 'tis said, that not only the *Scotch* and *Welsh* were subject to him, but great part of *Ireland* also; and that no Prince before him ever deserv'd so justly the Stile of King of *Great Britain*. He had at once, we are told, no less than eight Vassal Kings in his Court, namely, *Kened* King of *Scotland*, *Malcolm* King of *Cumberland*, *Macquire* King of the *Isles*, and five Kings of *Wales*, viz. *Dusgal*, *Griffith*, *Hurwald*, *Jacob* and *Judebil*, who being all at once in his Court at *Chester*, he caus'd himself, 'tis said, to be row'd by these eight Kings, in a Barge on the River *Dee*, while he steer'd the Vessel himself; and he would not have his Successors look upon themselves to be Kings of *England*, he declar'd,

clar'd, till they shou'd be thus attended by as many Vassal Kings.

He was Crown'd at *Bath* with abundance of Magnificence soon after, in the thirtieth Year of his Age, and the fifteenth of his Reign, tho' probably he had been once Crown'd before; for it was not unusual with the *Saxon* Kings to solemnize their Coronations more than once, at some great Festivals: tho' others say it was deferr'd so long on account of some Penances the Clergy inflicted on him for his wanton behaviour with the Nuns, and others, in the beginning of his Reign. But I can scarce believe the Monks wou'd have so long deferr'd the Crowning their favourite King, from whom they had such Expectations, on any account whatever. This Coronation therefore was probably to give the World an estimate of the Splendour of his Court, and sooth the Vanity of the Prince.

There are several Stories of the unlawful Amours of this Prince, as well as of his Brother; but having the good Fortune to be in Favour with the Clergy, he found no other ill effect of them than the having some slight Penances inflicted for them, tho' he proceeded even to the ravishing of Nuns; while his elder Brother, who was not in their good Graces, they endeavoured to depose, for his Complaisance to a Lady who was perfectly at her liberty to dispose of her self as she saw fit. From whence we may observe, that 'tis the Person more than the Crime that is frequently consider'd. It is reported also, that at *Andover*, the King ordering the Daughter of a certain Dutcheß to be brought to his Bed, which the Mother durst not absolutely refuse him,

him, she contriv'd the matter so as to send one of her Maids to the King's Apartment in the Evening, in her Daughters room; which being discover'd in the Morning, the King was so far from resenting it, and pleas'd with his Bedfellow, that he took the Girl along with him, and, according to Modern Practice, made a Dutchess of her, living constantly with her till he married his Queen *Elfrida*.

This Lady, our Historians tell us, was the Daughter of *Ordgar*, Duke of *Devon*, and being a celebrated Beauty, was frequently mention'd in the King's Presence as a Pattern of Perfection; whereupon his Majesty deputed Earl *Athelwold* his Secretary, in whom he most confided, to go to her Father's Seat, as upon other Business, and observe if she deserv'd the Character he had receiv'd of her. But *Athelwold* it seems was so smitten with the Lady at first sight, that he immediately made his Addresses to her in his own Name instead of his Master's, and procuring her Father's Consent, return'd to Court, where he spoke so slightly of her, that the King thought no more of the Lady, till he heard not long after that his Favourite *Athelwold* had married her. Whereupon he invited himself to Earl *Athelwold*'s Seat, and finding how much he had deceiv'd him, dissembled his Resentment for the present, but took an Opportunity as they were Hunting together in a neighbouring Forest, to strike the Earl dead with his Lance; The Earl's base Son coming by soon after, 'tis said, the King demanded of him, *How he liked that Game?* To which he only answer'd, *Whatever pleas'd the King, ought not to displease him.* With which Reply the

the King was so well satisfy'd, that his Resentment went no farther, and he preferr'd the young Gentleman afterwards in his Court. The King immediately married the beautiful Widow, and appointed her Coronation; but the Queen thought she was bound in decency however, in Memory of her deceased Husband, to build a Cloyster in the Place where he was kill'd, and appoint a certain Number of Nuns to pray for the Repose of his Soul, according to the Devotion of those Times.

It is observed that King *Edgar*, though *Edgar's* his Figure was of the least, being very short and slender, yet no Prince ever delighted more in rough and manly Exercises; he would frequently chuse the most Robust in his Court to contend with, 'tis said, desiring they would not spare him or be afraid of hurting him; and hearing that *Kened* the King of *Scots*, who was then at the *English* Court, had slightly said of him, That he wondered how so many great Princes should be govern'd by so little a Man! He immediately sent for him, and taking him into a private Walk, where he had provided two Swords, bid him take one, and try which of them was fittest to Govern. Whereupon, 'tis related, that *Kened* begg'd his Pardon, and assured him the Words were far from being meant as a Reflection on him, but directly the contrary, in Admiration of his great Abilities. With which King *Edgar* was extremely pleas'd, and they return'd good Friends to the Palace. King *Edgar* died on the eighth Day of *July*, in the thirty-second Year of his Age, and seventeenth of his Reign, *A. D.* 975, and was buried in the Abby of *Glastonbury*. About the same time died *Swovebing*, a Monk of *Croyland*, in the

142d Year of his Age. The famous *Turkettle* also, who had done so good Service in the Battle against the *Danes* and *Scots*, died about this time Abbot of *Croyland*, which Monastery he had repair'd and enrich'd after it was destroy'd by the *Danes*. This Abbot Ring of by adding six Bells to the two which were in Bells in that Abbey before, 'tis said, made the first *England* Set of Bells for Ringing in *England*.

Edward the Mat-
tyr. Upon the Demise of *Edgar*, *Edward* his eldest Son by *Ethelfleda* his first Wife, who was once a Nun (and some say never married to him) succeeded to the Crown by the Appointment of his Father, being then about fifteen Years of Age. *Elfrida* however, his Mother-in-law and her Party oppos'd him with all their Might, on pretence of his Illegitimacy, and would have set up her Son *Ethelred*, an Infant of seven Years of Age; but a great Majority of the Nobility and Clergy declaring for the Eldest, who was appointed to succeed by his Father's Will, he was Crown'd at *Kingston*. This Prince being too young to manage the Reins of Government, and wanting faithful or able Ministers, the Controversies between the Regular and Secular Priests were carried to that height that the Nation was thrown into the utmost Confusion. A Synod being held at *Winchester* to determine the Dispute, the Regulars trump'd up a Miracle, pretending that a Crucifix spoke in their behalf; but this being too gross a Cheat to go down, another Synod was held at *Can*, where the Dispute being very warm, the Room where they were assembled fell down, whereby some were kill'd, others wounded, and the rest of the Disputants silenc'd and glad to make their way out as fast

Disputes
between
the regu-
lar and
secular
Clergy.

as they could, only St. *Dunstan*, we are told, was wonderfully preserv'd on a Beam which stood firm while the rest of the Building sunk ; and this Prelate being on the side of the Regulars, this was look'd upon as another Miracle in favour of that Party. However they did not cease to persecute one another with Invectives and Calumnies, as is usual in Religious Controversies.

In the mean while the Administration of the Government seems to have been almost entirely in the Hands of the Dowager Queen *Elfrida* ; but she, not to be contented with any thing less than setting her Son upon the Throne, was perpetually contriving how to take off his elder Brother, when an Accident happen'd, which put the innocent Prince into her Hands : It happen'd that he was Hunting near her Palace of *Corfe Castle* in *Dorsetshire*, and finding himself Thirsty, rode up to the Gate alone, while his Attendants follow'd the Chase : The Queen having Notice of his being there, with great importunity intreated him to come in ; but the King being eager after his Game refus'd it, and a Glass of Liquor was sent for, which, while he was drinking, as he sat on Horseback, some of the Queens Servants wounded him mortally ; however he rode off, but fainting with Loss of Blood fell down, and his Foot hanging in the Stirrup was dragg'd about the Field a great way ; which the Queen's People perceiving, follow'd him, and finding he was dead, buried him privately at *Werham* ; at which Place, according to the Superstition of those times, 'tis reported, many Miracles were wrought ; and from the suppos'd Piety of this young Prince, to whom the Monks

King
Edward
murder'd
by Queen
Elfrida.

were much devoted, he afterwards came to be stil'd *Edward the Martyr*. Duke *Elfer*, who had some share in his Death, as a Judgment upon him, 'tis said, was afterwards eaten up with Lice; and indeed Vice was so constantly punish'd, and Virtue rewarded in those Times, if we credit our Historians, that there seems very little Occasion for a Day of Retribution in the other Life. According to Custom also we find this Reign, when the *English* Empire seem'd to be upon the decline, usher'd in with Prodigies and unhappy Omens, Dearth, and Famine; the Death of Cattle and other Calamities are made the Fore-runners and Signs of further Miseries, which afterwards ensued.

Queen *Elfida* it seems endeavour'd to atone for the Mischief she had done, by the Penances she inflicted on herself, such as wearing Hair-Shifts, and lying on the hard Ground, which she continued to do to her dying Day, or else no doubt the Monks would have furnish'd out another Judgment for her. King *Edward* was thus treacherously Murder'd in the Nineteenth Year of his Age, and the Fourth of his Reign, leaving no Issue behind him, or having had any Commerce with the other Sex as we hear of.

Ethel-
red II.
979.

Ethelred succeeded his Brother *Edward*, being about ten or eleven Years of Age: He was Crown'd at *Kingston* by the Archbishop *Dunstan*, who, 'tis said, Prophetically declar'd while he was putting the Crown upon his Head, that the Blood of his Brother should not be expiated but by the Slaughter of his miserable People, and that such Calamities should fall upon *England* as it never sustain'd

sustain'd since it had that Name. The same superstitious Historians tell us, that at Midnight a wonderful Cloud appear'd, sometimes Bloody, sometimes Fiery, which was seen in all Parts of the Nation, and portended, they suppose, the Return of the *Danes*, who had not infested this Country for many Years past; but whatever there might be in these Prodigies and Prophecies, certain it is, that in the third Year of this Reign the *Danes* landed at *Southampton*, plunder'd the Town and Country, and carried off a great Booty; Afterwards they ravaged the Isle of *Thanet*, while another Fleet of them appear'd in the *Irish* Sea, and landing near *Chester*, destroy'd the Country thereabouts with Fire and Sword. The following Years *Devonshire* and *Cornwal* suffer'd in the like manner, and in the Year 981, the City of *London* was burnt down by Accident. Amidst these Calamities Civil Dissentions grew high; the King and the Clergy were at open War, insomuch that the Bishop of *Rocheſter* was besieg'd in that City by his Majesty, with whom Archbishop *Dunſtan* and the Regular Clergy were in Confederacy, and *Dunſtan* sent the King a threatening Message, bidding him beware of the Vengeance of St. *Andrew*, Patron of that City. But the King not being to be frighted in this manner, the Archbishop thought fit to buy their Peace with a Sum of Money; but sent his Majesty a Curse with it, telling him that since he regarded Money more than God and Religion, the Calamities he had formerly foretold should speedily come upon him. And the Archbishop's Death, which happen'd about two Years after, we are told, was attended with terrible Fevers among Men,

The
Danes
Invade
the
King-
dom
again.

Civil
Wars at
Home.

Dane-gilt first
Levy'd,
993.

Men, and Distempers among their Cattle. For several Years successively the *Danes* continued to harraßs the *English* Coast, and possess'd almost all their Ports and Harbours, and the King being perpetually opposed by his Clergy, and betray'd by his Ministers whom they influenc'd, found himself in no condition to resist the Attaks of these Foreigners, he propos'd therefore to buy his Peace of the *Danes*, till he could better establish his Affairs at home; accordingly they agreed upon the Sum of 10000 *l.* on Condition the *Danes* should withdraw their Troops; which was afterwards levied upon the Subject, and obtain'd the Name of *Dane-gilt*, and this is said to be the first Tax the People of *England* were ever charg'd with; for heretofore every Subject was oblig'd by some Tenure to serve the King by Sea or Land, and every Province to furnish such a Number of Ships or Troops as the Crown had occasion for. And we see *Edgar* the Father of this King, by Virtue of these Tenures, without any Tax, furnish'd out three or four thousand Vessels for the Guard of the Coasts. But many of the principal Subjects of the Kingdom, as well Clergy as Laity, refusing their Quota at this Time, and the King's Generals and Admirals betraying him from time to time, he found all Resistance vain, and therefore when the *Danes* return'd again the next Year, he rais'd a further Sum of Money to purchase his Peace, and so from time to time. But the *Danes* every Year making higher Demands than they did the former, this Tax or Tribute came at length from ten thousand to forty-eight thousand Pounds, *per Annum*.

This

This Prince has born abundance of Odium on account of this Tribute, and obtain'd the Name of *the Unready*, in that he was seldom prepar'd to meet the Enemy in the Field; but the Clergy and their Dependents were evidently the Occasion of it. I don't find King *Ethelred* wanted either Diligence, good Sense, or Courage; but as he fell into such Times, and had such Historians to represent his Actions, it is no wonder his Character has suffer'd pretty much. The Misfortunes of the Nation are much rather to be ascrib'd to the Perverseness of the Clergy, who wou'd bear no Superior, and were possessed of so great a part of the Lands of the Kingdom, out of which they would not advance one Penny for the Defence of it, but on the contrary, made it their Business to distract the King's Affairs: I say, considering all these things, the Miseries of the *English* ought to lie at their Door, notwithstanding all their sly Insinuations of the inactivity and sluggish Temper of their Prince.

In these Depredations of the *Danes*, the two Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* it seems were entirely destroy'd, and no Exercises perform'd in them for a hundred Years and upwards, and the Enemy proceeding to destroy all the Country with Fire and Sword, another Sum was rais'd to purchase Peace. The King also soon after married *Emma*, the Daughter of *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, by which Alliance he propos'd to strengthen himself if the *Danes* should return again, and that they might not meet with that Assistance from their Brethren who were settled here which they us'd to do; he propos'd, 'tis said, the Extirpating and Massacring them all in one Night,

The Perverseness of the Clergy the Occasion of the *Danes* Success.

1000. The Universities destroy'd by the *Danes*.

Massacre
of the
Danes
not to be
depend-
ed on.

Night, viz. On the 9th of *July*, Anno 1002, and accordingly Orders were given, and kept so secret, and executed so punctually, that not one of the *Danes* escap'd, or was spar'd on Account of Friendship or Relation, from one End of the Nation to the other. But I must confess I look upon the thing to be so impracticable and improbable upon many Accounts, that I can give but little Credit to the Story: In the first place it was near two hundred Years after the *Danes* began to settle here, and they came over from time to time in such Numbers, that great part of the Kingdom was in a manner Peopled by them, particularly those large Provinces of *Mercia* and *Northumberland*; and in the rest of *England* they were so mix'd with the *English* by Inter-marriages for several Generations, that I don't see how it was possible to distinguish the *Danes* from the *English*; many of the Natives must have the Blood of both Nations in their Veins. Now those who credit the Story of this Massacre, represent it as if the *Danes* were but just arriv'd and that a single Soldier or *Lord-Dane* was lodg'd in every *English* Family, to domineer over the Natives, whereas the Fact seems to be quite otherwise. This bloody Tragedy, if ever, was acted at a time when the *Danes* who resided here were in Subjection to the *English*, and they had no King, or Governor, or General, or *Lord-Dane* of that Nation in the Island, as I can learn: Their invading Brethren were retired to their Country with the Treasure with which King *Ethelred* had bought his Peace, and not a Town in the Kingdom was under the Government of the *Danes*, tho' there were probably many Towns and Countries fill'd with *Danish* Families,

Families, insomuch that they might at this time amount to a third Part of the Inhabitants; and how all these should be murder'd in one Night, by poor Country People or peaceful Citizens, without Troops to assist them, is not easy to be conceiv'd. Nor is the common Objection without its Weight, namely, that it is not to be suppos'd that the Orders for the Execution of this Massacre could be given to such a Multitude of People, or kept so secret by them, but the *Danes* must have had some Intimation of it, and have had an Opportunity of assembling in their Defence. But there is this farther Argument against the Truth of the Fact, that no two Historians scarce agree as to the Year in which it was done. But having offer'd my Objections, I leave every one to conclude as his Judgment guides him.

However that Matter was, it seems the Foreign *Danes* return'd again with greater Numbers than ever, and to render themselves as terrible as possible, destroy'd all Places whither they came with Fire and Sword, as the surest Means to procure a considerable Contribution for retiring; and their Expectations were answer'd, for they carried off at this time near forty thousand Pounds, besides what they had gotten by Plunder. And the King finding there was no End of their Demands, resolv'd against their Return to be provided for them; accordingly he issued his Orders, that every three hundred and ten Hides of Land should fit out a Ship, (a Hide of Land is as much as one Team can Manure, which we reckon about 50 l. per Ann. at this Day) and a great Fleet was accordingly soon after brought to the general Rendez-

Ships set
out by
the se-
veral Pro-
vinces to
oppose
the
Danes.

vous at *Sandwich*; and now when the Nation began to look upon themselves as secure, the Admirals to whom the Charge of the Fleet was committed, instead of performing their Duty, fell out among themselves, and some of them deserted to the Enemy with a great part of the Navy. The King being no better serv'd at Land, the *Danes* return'd, and ravag'd the Country with as little Opposition as usual, notwithstanding the King had rais'd Forces, levy'd Money for their Subsistence, and offer'd to command his Troops in Person; for his Councils were constantly betray'd, and Factions form'd in his very Court and Army by the Influence of the Clergy, who hated him because he would not be their Tool.

1012.
Canterbury
taken
and the
Bishop
murder'd.
Twelve
Pence
levy'd on
every
Hide of
Land.

About the Year 1012, *Canterbury* was taken by the *Danes*, and most of the Ecclesiasticks, with their Archbishop, murder'd; tho' 'tis said the *Danes* had but just before received forty-eight thousand Pounds not to molest the *English*: And besides this Sum, twelve Pence was levied upon every Hide of Land, for maintaining the Forces that the *Danes* left behind to protect the Kingdom against all other Foreigners; which went also by the Name of *Dane-gilt*, and was paid for many Years after.

But notwithstanding all the Treasure that had been rais'd to buy Peace of the *Danes*, about *Midsummer*, Anno 1013, *Swain* King of *Denmark* landed at *Sandwich* with a powerful Army, determining now to make an intire Conquest of the Nation, and being join'd by the *English Danes*, and many of the disaffected *English*, he over-run the whole Kingdom, insomuch that scarce any Town held out against him, except *London*, where

1013.
Swain
makes a
Con-
quest of
the
King-
dom.

King *Ethelred* was in Person, and bravely resisted his Attacks; but *Ethelred* finding his Affairs desperate, sent away his Queen, and his two Sons *Edward* and *Alfred*, with his Treasure into *Normandy*, and soon after retir'd thither himself; whereupon the *English* in general submitted to *Swain*, and acknowledged him King of *England*.

This Prince however, did not yet treat the *English* as his Subjects, but us'd them in the same barbarous manner as when he was their Enemy, particularly the Monks of *St. Edmunds-Bury*; whereupon those Fathers relate, that he was kill'd by *St. Edmund*, or rather his Apparition, at *Gainsborough* the same Year, in the middle of his Guards; but tho' no Credit is to be given to such Relations at this time of Day, probably he was kill'd by some unknown Hand in that Place, we having no Account in what manner he died.

Canute, the Son of *Swain*, procur'd himself to be declar'd King of *England* by the *Danes*, upon the Death of his Father; but the *English* observing the Tyranny of the *Danish* Government, sent into *Normandy* to invite over King *Ethelred* again, and he was received by the People soon after with the most joyful Acclamations imaginable, who seem'd now more unanimous in his Cause than they had been formerly, and having assembled an Army, he surpriz'd *Canute*, and defeated him, compelling him to return on Board his Fleet; whereupon *Canute* cut off the Ears, Noses, and Hands of the *English* Hostages, and setting them on Shore, sail'd to *Denmark* for a further Reinforcement.

Ethelred
retires to
Nor-
mandy.

1014.
Canute,
Swain's
Son, declar'd
King by
the
Danes.
Ethelred
restor'd
by the
English.

1015.

The
Danes
invade
the
King-
dom a-
gain.

Ethel-
red dies.

Clergy
prohibit-
ed to
marry.

Edmund
Ironside.
1016.

Canute returning to *England* again with a prodigious Fleet the next Summer, with the Kings of *Sweden* and *Norway*, his Confederates, landed at *Sandwich*, and soon after gave the *English* a great Defeat; for *Ethelred* was betray'd again by his General *Edric*, whose Treachery being at length discover'd, *Edric* thought fit to desert over to the *Danes*, carrying a considerable Body of Troops with him; whereupon the *Danes* became Masters of the Field, and plunder'd the Country as usual. In the mean time King *Ethelred* was taken sick, and died on the 22^d of *April*, 1016, being buried in *St. Paul's Church* in *London*. Among the Ecclesiastical Constitutions which were made in this Reign, the prohibiting the Marriage of the Clergy was one; for before the Secular Priests were not only allow'd to marry, but to have a plurality of Wives, as 'tis said; And an Edict was publish'd, that no Persons should sell their Children to Foreigners, which it seems was a very common Practice here in those Days: Also that a Widow should remain in that State at least a Twelvemonth after her Husband's Death.

Upon the Death of *Ethelred*, *Edmund*, generally surnam'd *Ironside*, from his Robust Constitution, was recogniz'd his Successor by the City of *London*, and some of the Nobility assembled there. He was the third, but eldest surviving Son of his Father *Ethelred*, by his first Wife: But the *Danish* Interest was now so great, or their Power so dreaded by the Clergy and Nobility, that being summon'd to attend *Canute* at *Southampton*, they swore Allegiance to him, and, 'tis said, abjur'd the Issue of the late King *Ethelred*. *Canute* hereupon set sail with his Fleet for the

Thames

Thames about *Whitsonide*, in order to reduce the City of *London*. King *Edmund* on the other side mov'd into the West of *England*, where his greatest Interest lay, to raise Forces to support his Right to the Crown; and *Canute* attacking the City of *London* in his Absence, met with a Repulse there. The *Dane* afterwards, according to some Writers, march'd in Person towards the West, or as others relate, detach'd a considerable Body of his Forces to meet his Rival, and engage him before he should have form'd his Troops, and the two Armies engaged at *Pen*, near *Gillingham* in *Somersetshire*, where *Edmund* had the Advantage. However, another Battle was fought between them about *Midsummer* at *Sceorstan* or *Shecston* in *Wiltshire*, or according to others, at *Sbirestones* on the borders of *Oxfordshire*, which wou'd have been fatal to the *Danes*, if Duke *Edric* and some other Noble men with their Forces had not deserted over to the *Danes*; but King *Edmund* notwithstanding maintain'd his Ground, till Night put an end to the Engagement.

Canute a second time march'd towards *London*, and laid Siege to it, while King *Edmund* was recruiting his Forces in the West, but the King arriv'd time enough to relieve the City: He afterwards engag'd the *Danes* near *Brensford*, and defeated them. Duke *Edric* observing the Success of the King's Affairs, found means to reconcile himself to him again, whom this good natur'd Prince, contrary to all good Policy, was pleas'd to restore to his Command in the Army, of which he soon after found the ill Effects; for having gain'd an Advantage of the Enemy, the Traytor prevented the Pursuit, when in all probability

The
King-
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lity his Majesty would have driven his Rival out of the Kingdom. And at another Battle at *Asbdown*, or rather *Affington* in *Essex*, where both Parties had assembled their whole Forces, and the *English* had all the reason in the World to expect a Victory, the same treacherous *E-dric* went over to *Canute* with the Forces under his Command, whereby he chang'd the Fortune of the Day, and the *English* receiv'd the greatest Defeat they had known for many Years: Four Dukes, namely, *Alfred*, *Godwin*, *Ulfketel* and *Eitelwald* were kill'd in the Field of Battle, with many others of the Nobility and Clergy. King *Edmund* however did not yet despair of Success, but assembling another Army, was about to offer Battle again to the *Danes*, when *Edric* propos'd a Division of the Kingdom between the two Rivals, which was agreed to, the Western part being assign'd to *Edmund*, the rest to *Canute*. But this Peace was clapt up probably by the *Danes* and *Edric*, in hopes of effecting that by a Treaty which they found it so difficult to do by Force; namely, to remove King *Edmund* out of the way. Accordingly we find the King surviv'd this Treaty but a very little while, and some Authors are so particular as to relate the very manner how he was Assassinated, namely, by thrusting a Spit or some such Instrument into his Body as he sat at Stool. However, certain it is, this King did not Reign much above half a Year, in which he fought four or five pitch'd Battles with the *Danes*. He seems to have been a brave Prince, and well beloved by his Subjects; but his Politicks may deserve to be call'd in question, if it be true that he trusted the Traytor *Edric*, after he had been so many times unfaithful both to himself and his

his Father. He died about the Feast of St. Andrew, 1016, leaving Issue two Sons, *Edward* and *Edmund*, and two Daughters, *Margaret* and *Christiana*.

C H A P. X.

Contains the History of England, during the Reigns of the three Danish Kings, (viz) Canute, Harold, and Hardecnute; as also the Reigns of Edward the Confessor, and Harold II. being from the Restoration of the Saxon Line to the Conquest.

WHether King *Edmund* died a violent or *Canute* natural Death, it happen'd in a very the *Dane* favourable juncture for *Canute*, who was immediately recogniz'd by the Clergy and Nobility sole Monarch of *England*; or, as some Writers effect to term it, he was elected King. The *Saxon* Expression on a Demise of the Crown in relation to the Successor, is always the same, as Dr. *Brady* observes, *Feng to Rice*, i. e. He took Possession of the Kingdom; which others render, he succeeded, he was chosen, &c. But if this was an Election, according to all our Writers, it was an Election without a Choice, and they acknowledg'd him out of pure Dread of his Power. The old Monks, it seems, said every one was *Elected*, who was set up by the Cunning or Violence of a Faction, or obtain'd the Crown by Usurpation, or Force of Arms, without a Title; and this has led weak People into an Imagination that the Monarchy was elective; tho' it is evident not one of our Princes ever depended on Election as a Title, neither can I find there has been one Election since we were

a Nation, unless they will call it an Election to recognize the Prince after he is invested with the Power, and they have no Option left, as was the Case in this pretended Election of *Canute*, where *Milton* tells us the Electors consented, *because they fear'd to undergo his Anger*: They acquiesced, because they knew not how to help themselves. Which it must be confess'd has very often been the Case in this Kingdom. But to proceed in our History,

The Nobility did not only swear Allegiance to *Canute*, but they renounc'd or abjur'd the two Sons of *Edmund*, as freely and willingly as they elected him, it may be presum'd; and *Edwin* the Brother of the late King *Edmund*, a Prince of great Hopes, they propos'd to send into Banishment, probably in order to prevent his being murder'd by the Tyrant, and in hopes he might one Day relieve them from the Oppressions they groan'd under. But *Canute* was too Politick to suffer a Prince of those Abilities to Live, and therefore with the Traytor *Edric's* Assistance, he procur'd him to be assassinated privately, as is suppos'd *Edwin* disappearing of a sudden, and never being heard of more. After this the pious *Edric* propos'd the taking off *Edward* and *Edmund*, the two young Sons of the late King; but this seem'd so Odious a thing, even to the *Dane*, that he contented himself with banishing them into *Sweden*, from whence that King sent them to *Solomon*, King of *Hungary*, that they might remain in greater Security than they could in his own Dominions: For our Historians intimate, they were only banish'd to *Sweden*, in order to be murder'd the more privately, and that *Canute* might avoid the Odium

dium of so detested a Villany. And here it seems *Edmund* died, but Prince *Edward* married *Agatha*, the Daughter of *Henry* the German Emperor, by whom he had one Son, named *Edgar Atheling*, and two Daughters; viz. *Margaret*, afterwards married to the King of Scots, and *Christian*, who took the Habit of a Nun.

Canute, soon after his Accession, divided the Kingdom into four Provinces or Governments; *Edric* the Traytor he made Duke of *Mercia*, to Earl *Turkil* the Dane he assign'd *East England*; to *Eric* the Kingdom of *Northumberland*; and *West Saxony*, the antient Possession of the *English* Kings, he reserv'd for his own immediate Care. And to render himself Popular, 'tis said, he publickly put to Death the Murderers of the late King, and declar'd he would govern according to the *Saxon* Laws, and their antient Constitution. He married also Queen *Emma*, the Widow of King *Ethelred*, the better to strengthen his Interest at Home, and to keep fair with her Brother the Duke of *Normandy*. And now whether Duke *Edric* upbraided him with his Services, as some write, or that he detested his treacherous Disposition, and apprehended he might one Day conspire against him as he had done against his former Masters, he caus'd him to be executed while he was solemnizing the Festival of *Christmas*, and order'd his Head to be set upon one of the highest Towers in *London*. And with *Edric* several other great Lords suffer'd, who were suppos'd to be in his Interest; as *Norman* the Son of Duke *Leofwin*, *Ethelward* the Son of Duke *Aglemar*, and *Britbick* the Son of *Elfeg*, Governor of *Devon*. And still for his Security he kept up

a Standing Army, as all Princes find themselves oblig'd to do, who possess themselves of Foreign Kingdoms, especially where there are Competitors for the Crown ; and this occasions the burthening the Subject with heavy Taxes, as it happen'd here, the Nation being oblig'd to raise this Year the Sum of seventy thousand Pounds, besides fifteen thousand rais'd by the City of *London* alone, which was reckoned a prodigious Expence in those times ; but no less, says a late Reverend Author, could be expected from a *Usurper and a Foreigner*.

1018. About this time, our Historians relate, a War commenc'd between *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, and *Eric* Earl of *Northumberland* ; but they neither acquaint us with the Reason or Success of it, or what Enterprizes happen'd in the Course of it ; but that *Eugenius Calvus*, King of the *Lothians*, was engag'd in it on the part of *Malcolm*. However, this War was not of that Consequence to divert *Canute* from visiting his antient Dominions in *Denmark* the next Year, where he continued the whole Winter ; and Writers relate, that he carried a considerable Army of *English* and *Danes* with him, by whose Assistance he obtain'd a Victory over the *Swedes*, and the next Spring return'd to *England*, where he banish'd Duke *Ethelward*, Earl *Turkil* the *Dane*, and *Eric* Earl of *Northumberland*, but upon what Account, History is silent.

In the Year 1028, having Intelligence that the Subjects of *Olive*, King of *Norway*, were ripe for Rebellion, *Canute* first sent over large Sums of Money to be distributed amongst the Malecontents, and soon after invaded *Norway* with his Forces, deposing their King, and forcing him to fly his Country, whose

only

only Fault, as far as I can perceive, was, that he was too indulgent to his Subjects; and whatever ill Fortune this Prince might meet with in his Life time, it seems he was ador'd as a Saint after his Death, which happen'd the following Year, being kill'd by his Subjects on his return into his Dominions. King *Canute*, now in the height of his Glory, return'd to *England*, where no doubt he met with Congratulatory Addresses upon his late Success. But no Condition could render this Prince easy, he was perpetually apprehensive of Conspiracies, taking off or banishing the principal Lords about him; and yet our Historians do not pretend to give any other Reason for this Conduct, but a Consciousness of the Violences he had committed, which he dreaded wou'd some time or other be retaliated upon him. At his return to *England* he banish'd a popular *Danish* Nobleman, named *Hacan*, who had married his Sister, and found means to have him taken off privately while he remain'd in Exile. But still the King's Fears and Apprehensions remaining, he at length pretended to become a mighty Penitent, and threw himself into the Arms of Holy Church, hoping to appease the Divine Vengeance, by applying part of the Spoils he had made to pious Uses: and therefore about the Year 1031, he resolv'd to visit *Rome*, carrying with him a vast Treasure of Gold, Silver, and rich Presents, to be disposed of as that Pontiff should direct; and gave large Alms in the Places he pass'd through, in his Voyage thither and back again. And while his Devotion was warm, he wrote a Letter from *Rome* to his Bishops, Nobility, and great Officers of State, which is

1031.

still extant, wherein he Vows to spend the remainder of his Life in the Service of God, and doing Justice to his People, commanding them to discountenance all Vice and Injustice; and as they tendred the Royal Favour, and their own Lives, not to deviate from the Rules of Equity out of regard to any Man; no not to encrease the King's own Treasures, for there was no Necessity to augment his Revenues by unjust Exactions; concluding with a strict Charge to his Bishops and Magistrates, upon their Allegiance to God and himself, that in his Absence they take Care that God's Church and his Ministers were not defrauded of their Tythes and other Dues, of which he should take a severe Account upon his return.

King *Canute* having spent some time at *Rome*, went from thence to *Denmark*, and so to *England*, where in pursuance of the pious Resolution he had made, he devoted great part of his Wealth to the building and repairing Monasteries and Churches; particularly he built a Church at *Aspendon* in *Essex*, in the Field where he obtain'd that Signal Victory over King *Edmund*: He founded also the Abby of *St. Bennet*, at *Holme* in *Norfolk*; and re-built and endow'd the Monastery of *St. Edmunds Bury* in *Suffolk*, which had been destroy'd by some of his Ancestors, and offer'd up his Crown at the Martyr's Tomb; but this 'tis thought he did as well to ingratiate himself with the *English*, as out of Devotion. He made very rich Presents also to the Church at *Winchester*, and among the rest a Crucifix, said to be worth a Year's Revenue of the Kingdom. But it is a fond Conceit and of pernicious Consequence, as *Milton* observes, in great Men, to abstain from no Violence till

till they have obtain'd the utmost of their ambitious Desires; and then think to appease God by bribing him with a Share of their Ill-gotten Spoils; and lastly, to grow zealous of doing Right, when they have no longer need to do Wrong.

The Monks however were ready to enroll Canute in the Number of Good Princes, and some of them don't scruple to say, that the Kingdom of Scotland as well as England was given him as a Reward of his Piety: For *Matthew Westminster* relates, that the Scots Rebelling in this Reign, the King march'd against them, and subdued *Malcolm*, the greatest of their Kings, with two other petty Princes, whom *Huntington* calls *Malcolm* and *Fermare*; and being bless'd with so long a Series of Success, he was flatter'd like other Princes upon such Occasions; and not only compar'd to *Cæsar* and *Alexander*, and other antient Heroes, but ador'd as if he had something Divine in his Constitution. But he abhor'd the impious and abject Flattery of his fawning Subjects: And, as *Huntington* relates, to shew the small Power of Earthly Princes in respect to the Divine Majesty, he caus'd his Royal Seat to be set upon the Shoar while the Tide was flowing in, and setting himself down, said to the Sea with a Majestick Countenance, *Thou Sea belongst to me, and the Land whereon I sit is mine, nor has any one unpunish'd resisted my Commands; I charge thee come no further upon my Land, nor presume to wet the Feet of thy Sovereign Lord*: But the Sea came rolling on as usual, dashing his Robes, without expressing the least Reverence for his Majesty: Whereupon he rose up hastily, and turning to his Courtiers, said, *Behold*
bow

how Weak and Impotent is the Power of Kings? None truly deserve the Name, but he whose Eternal Laws both Heaven, Earth, and Sea Obey: And from this time, 'tis related, he never wore his Crown, but commanded it to be set at the Head of the great Crucifix at Winchester; and after a Reign of nineteen Years within a few Days, died at Shaftsbury, on the twelfth of November, 1036, leaving Issue by his first Wife Elgiva, two Sons, namely, Swane and Harold; and by Emma, one Son, named Hardecanut. The two first, some have suggested, were Illegitimate, and that he was never married to their Mother; but it seems he made no Difference between the one and the other in the Distribution of his Dominions.

Harold I
1036.

Canute divided his three Kingdoms amongst his three Sons; to Swane he gave Norway; to Harold, surnam'd Harefoot for his Swiftness, England; and to Hardecanut, Denmark. Tho' others relate, that he design'd England for Hardecanut, the Son of Emma, but he being in Denmark, Harold, by the Assistance of the Nobility and Citizens of London, whose Favourite he was, possess'd himself of the Kingdom: The Clergy however adhered to the Children of Queen Emma; and Ailnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury, at first, 'tis said, refus'd to Crown Harold; but he was at length prevail'd on to assist at the Ceremony, and Harold was generally recogniz'd King. Nor do I find that his short Reign was disturb'd by Conspiracies at Home, or any Invasions or Attempts to dispossess him of his Kingdom by his Rival Brothers, or any other Branches of the Royal Family; which makes it probable to me, that he was really appointed
King

King of *England* by his Father. The Princes he seem'd to be most apprehensive of, were *Edward* and *Alfred*, the two Sons of *Ethelred* by Queen *Emma*, and the Youngest coming over from *Normandy* to pay a Visit to his Mother, or, according to others, treacherously invited over by Earl *Godwin*, was seiz'd on, and having both his Eyes put out, committed to the Care of the Monks at *Ely*, where he soon after died, and *Emma* the Mother was banish'd the Kingdom, whom *Baldwin*, then Earl of *Flanders*, generously receiv'd, and appointed *Bruges* for the Place of her Residence.

We have little else remarkable in the Life of *Harold*, except it be that he fitted out a Fleet, as the best Means to secure himself against Foreign Invasions; taxing every Port in the Nation eight Marks for every sixteen Ships: And that he sent some Forces to restrain the Incursions of the *Welch*, who were troublesome upon the Borders, and occasion'd a Law, that every *Welchman* who was found on this Side of *Offa's-Ditch*, should lose his Right Hand.

This King died on the 16th of *April*, 1039, and was buried at *Westminster*, leaving neither Wife or Issue.

Hardecanut was come to *Bruges* in *Flan-Hardec-*
ders, to pay a Visit to his Mother *Emma*, *canute*.
when a Deputation from the Nobility and 1040
Clergy of *England* came to acquaint him
with the Death of *Harold*, and to desire him
to take upon him the Administration of the
Government; but whether this Prince was
apprehensive of any Party being form'd a-
gainst him, or determining to take Vengeance
on those who had been his Enemies, and oc-
casion'd

casion'd the Death of his Brother *Alfred*, and the Banishment of his Mother, certain it is, that he did not come over directly from *Flanders* hither, but went first into *Denmark*, where he equipp'd a Fleet of sixty Sail of Ships, and assembled a Body of Troops, with which he did not arrive in *England* till near *Midsummer*, being upwards of two Months, some say three, after the Death of his Brother *Harold*. He landed at *Sandwich*, where he was receiv'd with mighty Acclamations both by *English* and *Danes*, and was soon after Crown'd.

The first Act of State we meet with in this Reign, was an Order for digging up the Body of the late King, and casting it into the *Thames*; which a Fisherman taking up in his Nets, re-interr'd in the Church-Yard of *St. Clements Danes*, being the common Burying-Place of that Nation: So highly did *Hardecnut* resent the Injuries which had been done to his Mother and his Family by his Predecessor. He afterwards proceeded to deprive *Living*, Bishop of *Worcester*, of his Bishoprick, who had been an Instrument, if not a Promoter of the barbarous Treatment of his Brother *Alfred*; but a Sum of Money restor'd the Bishop to his Favour, and the Bishoprick again, within the Compass of a Year. And even *Earl Godwin*, the great Enemy of his Family, found Means to appease him by a magnificent Present, suitable to the Humour of that Prince. He provided it seems a gilded Galley, gloriously Rigg'd, and Mann'd with fourscore well-made young Fellows, having a Bracelet of Gold on each Arm weighing sixteen Ounces; a Helmet and Cresset finely gilt; a *Danish* Seymirar with

with a gilded Hilt; a Launce and a Shield with glittering Bosses, which made a splendid Appearance. Earl *Godwin* also took an Oath that he never advised the Cruelties practis'd on his Brother, but was purely passive in the Matter; and most of the Nobility, as 'tis related, took an Oath to the same effect.

The next Year the King levy'd the usual Tax of *Dane-gilt*, which it seems was done in this and several other Reigns by pure Prerogative, without asking the Consent of the Nobility or People; for as to the Clergy they were exempt from it. The usual Pretence for it was made now as at other Times, namely, the fitting out a Fleet for the Guard of the Seas: Eight Marks were at this time levy'd for every Mariner, and twelve for every Officer of the Fleet; which was in those Days look'd upon as a very grievous Burthen; and it appears, that the Inland as well as Maritime Places were oblig'd to furnish their Quota; for the King sent his Officers to levy this Tax at *Worcester*; whether they stood upon being exempted as they were no Sea-Port, or that they were too severely or unequally tax'd, does not appear; but the Mob it seems rose upon the Tax-gatherers, and tore them in Pieces, which so exasperated the King against them, that he order'd a Body of Troops to be assembled, under the Command of *Leofrick*, Duke of *Mercia*, Earl *Godwin*, and *Siward* Earl of *Northumberland*, to extirpate all the People of that City and Province, and to lay their Houses in Ashes. Whereupon most of the Country-People fled, and the Citizens retir'd to a small Island in the *Severn*, which they fortify'd, and defended themselves till his Majesty was appeased,

appeased, who contented himself with the burning and demolishing their City.

The King now reigning in Peace, invited over his half Brother *Edward*, the Son of King *Ethelred* and *Emma*, from *Normandy*, where he had resided all the last Reign, and entertain'd him splendidly in his Court, tho' he was nearer in Blood, and much dearer to the *English*, than he could expect his own Family shou'd be; but as *Edward* (afterwards stil'd *the Confessor*) never appear'd to be an enterprizing Prince, or to have any Sparks of Ambition, possibly nothing cou'd keep the *English* firmer to his Interest than the tender regard he paid to that Prince. About the same Time the King married his Sister *Gunbilda*, to *Henry* Emperor of *Germany*, the Nobility attending her to the Sea-side, with a glorious Equipage, and making her rich Presents, suitable to the Occasion, nor cou'd they take a surer Method to make their Court, and ingratiate themselves with this Prince, who delighted in nothing more, 'tis said, than Festivals and a splendid Appearance. In the *English* Court Tables were plentifully provided four Times a Day in this Reign, and all the World were welcome; it being a frequent saying of this Prince, that *He had rather have too many Dishes than any shou'd go away unsatisfy'd*. However, the *English* had very little Affection for him, on Account of his Partiality to his Countrymen the *Danes*; and if what is reported of him be true, they had very little Reason to love him, for they say if an *Englishman* met a *Dane*, he was always oblig'd to give him the Way, or venture being can'd for disputing it; and it was not lawful for an *Englishman*

to strike again upon any Provocation. According to some Writers, he impos'd an idle *Dane* upon most of the principal Families in *England*, who was a kind of Governor or *Lord-Dane*; from whence an idle Fellow who is a Burden to the Place he lives in, came proverbially to be call'd a *Lord-Dane*, as some have conjectured.

This Prince being invited to a Nuptial Entertainment at *Lambeth*, on the 8th of *June*, 1042, where *Osgod* a noble *Dane* gave his Daughter in Marriage to one *Pindon* of the same Nation, as the Company were in the Height of their Mirth, and the King in all Appearance in a good State of Health, on a sudden he dropp'd down Dead, having Reign'd something more than two Years; and was buried at *Winchester* by his Father.

Upon the Death of *Hardecanute*, who left no Issue, 'tis said there was an universal Joy among the *English*, on the Prospect of a *Saxon* Successor; for *Denmark* it seems, was then divided by Faction, and *Swain* in no Condition to make an Attempt upon *England*; nor did the *Danes* ever infest the *English* Coasts afterwards. *Edward* therefore, the only surviving Son of *Ethelred* and *Emma*, being upon the Spot, and appointed by *Hardecanute* to succeed him, both *Danes* and *English* readily Recogniz'd his Title. But in Memory of the Exclusion of the *Danish* Line, who had so insolently Lorded it over the *English*, it is generally held that the Feast of *Hoc-tide* or *Hough-tide*, signifying a high and joyful Time, was now first Instituted; and was Annually observ'd on the 8th

of June, for some Hundreds of Years afterwards.

*Edward
the Con-
fessor.*
1042.

Edward surnam'd *the Confessor*, succeeded to the Crown, by the Appointment of *Hardecanute* his half Brother, the preceding King; a Prince reported to be of so timorous a Disposition, or so fond of a retired Life, that it was with difficulty he was perswaded to take upon him the Administration of the Government; and the generality of our Historians make him act so very mean a Part on his Accession, that he seems scarce worthy of the Crown he wore. Some indeed will have him a Prince of that extraordinary Piety, that he despis'd the Glories of an Earthly Crown; and tell us, that if he had follow'd the Bent of his own Inclinations, he would much rather have devoted his Life to Religion than Politicks. And how it comes to pass I can't tell, but in the Course of our *English* History it is observable, that whenever we find a King celebrated for his Piety, he is generally expos'd for his Weakness, as if Wisdom and Piety were inconsistent, and that an Indifference to Religion was a necessary Qualification in a Crown'd Head; as many of the Wits of this Age seem to be of Opinion. But to return to our History, such as it is, for I must confess I can give but very little Credit to many Occurrences I meet with in the Reign of this Prince, they make him act so inconsistently with himself. *Malmſbury* relates, that upon the Death of *Hardecanute*, Prince *Edward* being uncertain what Course to take, resolv'd at length to commit himself to the Conduct of Earl *Godewin*, and sent thereupon to desire a Conference with him; that the Earl was some time in doubt whether he

he should admit of it, and did only just not refuse it, whereupon the Prince came to him, and ready to fall down at his Feet entreated his Assistance in conveying him back to *Normandy*. But *Godwin* rais'd him up, 'tis said, and bid him remember he was the Son of *Ethelred*, the Grand-Son of *Edgar*, and had a Right to the Crown; that he was of a mature Age and a refin'd Education, which qualified him for Dominion; and as his own Interest was great, he shou'd employ it all to serve him, desiring only that himself and his Family might be happy in his Favour; and that he wou'd do him the Honour to Marry his Daughter *Edith*. To which King *Edward*, it seems, very readily complied.

But I can't discern for what Reason the Coronation of the King was deferr'd till the *Easter* following, being almost a Year after his Accession.

Now that King *Edward* should endeavour to strengthen his Interest by entering into a Friendship and Alliance with Earl *Godwin*, the most popular Nobleman both in the *English* and *Danish* Interest, does not seem at all improbable, the *Danes* being then possess'd of very considerable Posts in the Kingdom; and this Circumstance is very far from implying any Weakness or Misconduct in this Prince; but that he should fall down to a Subject, and express such terrible Fears and Apprehensions, when it does not appear there was at this Time any Competitor for the Crown, seems only to be the Suggestions of some very weak Writers, who are apt to apprehend that nothing can more embellish their Story than the passing suddenly from one Extreme to another; to shew us one Moment a Person reduc'd

reduc'd to the utmost Distress, and the next exalted to the highest Dignity; easy Transitions create no Admiration, and nothing in their Opinion can please which is not Astonishing.

King *Edward* was about forty Years of Age at his Accession, and tho' his Years and Experience sufficiently qualify'd him to take the Reins into his own Hands, yet such were his Obligations to Earl *Godwin*, that it is not to be wonder'd at, if he was for some time under his Influence; and some impute it to the Advice of this Nobleman, that in the Beginning of his Reign, he seiz'd upon his Mother *Emma's* Estate and Treasure, and used her in a Manner very unbecoming the Character of a Saint; nor does it much mend the Matter, to say he did it by way of Retaliation for the Injuries she did him in his Minority, and during his Exile. The King soon after in pursuance of his Promise, solemniz'd his Marriage with the Lady *Editb*, the Daughter of Earl *Godwin*, famous for her Learning as well as her Beauty and Virtue; but with all her Charms it seems her Royal Spouse never thought fit to touch her in a Matrimonial Way.

1045.

Whether the Ministry were apprehensive of a new Invasion or Insurrection of the *Danes* in the Beginning of this Reign does not appear; but it was thought advisable I find to banish some of the most powerful *Danish* Families, particularly *Guabilda* the Sister of King *Canute*, the Widow of *Harold*, a *Dane* of Distinction; with her two Sons *Hemming* and *Turkill*: And, 'tis said, that about the same time, *Magnus* the Son of *O-*
lave,

lave, King of *Norway*, prepar'd a Fleet to attack this Kingdom, upon Account of the Injuries done to his Father, in the Reign of King *Canute*; but was diverted from it by *Swain* King of *Denmark*, who made an Incurfion into *Norway*, and found *Magnus* Employment enough at Home. But why *Magnus* should endeavour to revenge himself upon King *Edward* the *Saxon*, when the Injury was done him by *Canute* the *Dane*, a Prince of another Family and Nation, is not easy to conceive. However, *Magnus* we are told, was so enrag'd with *Swain* King of *Denmark* for disappointing him, that he made an entire Conquest of that Kingdom; and indeed *Swain* seems to be the proper Person to shew his Repentment against, because it was his Ancestor who Depos'd the Father of *Magnus*. *Swain* in his Distress sent to King *Edward*, to desire his Assistance, urging by way of Merit, his having diverted the Storm from *England*; and Earl *Godwin* advised the Reinforcing him with a Fleet of fifty Sail, not only for the Service he had done the Nation, but to reduce the growing Power of *Magnus*. But Earl *Leofric*, and a Majority of the Council were of Opinion it seems, that the King should remain Neuter, and disoblige neither Party; which had that good Effect, 'tis said, that *Magnus* made no further Attempts against *England*, after he had made a Conquest of *Denmark*. But surely the better way to have prevented it, would have been to have suffer'd neither Side to have been entirely suppress'd; for if *Magnus* had a Design upon *England* while he was only King of *Norway*, it was not to have been expected

1048.

expected he should have laid it aside, when he had added *Denmark* to his Dominions. Tho' the Nation enjoy'd a full Peace at this time, it was not free from other Calamities, being afflicted both with Pestilence and Famine, and an Earthquake was felt at *Worcester* and *Derby*; tho' I don't find it had any ill Consequences attending it. The Famine it seems was occasion'd by a great Snow, which fell in *January*, and lay upon the Ground till the latter End of *March*.

1049.

Swain, one of the Sons of Earl *Godwin*, having been banish'd, or quitted the Kingdom for fear of Punishment, upon his having committed a Rape on the Lady *Edgitha*; the Abbess of *Chester*, arriv'd from *Denmark* about this Time, with eight Ships, under pretence of soliciting for the King's Pardon, in which he made use of Earl *Beorne* his Kinsman, and one of the King's Admirals; but upon what Provocation I can't learn, having betray'd the Admiral on board his Ship, he carried him to *Dartmouth*, and there barbarously murder'd him. The People of *Hastings* in revenge of this Treachery, surpriz'd six of *Swain's* Ships, killing every Man on board, and *Swain* with the other two sail'd over to *Flanders*, where he remain'd till *Alfred* Bishop of *Worcester*, after all these flagrant Offences, obtain'd his Pardon of the King.

Osgod, a noble Dane who had been banish'd by this King, also insulted the Coast of *Essex* about this time, with twenty-nine Ships, against whom Earl *Godwin* was sent with a Squadron of Ships, but before he came up with him, the Danes were overtaken by

by a Storm, in which most of them perish'd, and two of their Ships being driven on Shoar, the Crews were all put to the Sword. The *Irish* also in Confederacy with the *Welsh*, gave some Disturbance to the *English* Borders, but there did not happen any Action of Consequence at this Time.

In the Year 1051, a Famine happening in 1051. *England*, the King relinquish'd the Tax The Tax call'd *Dane-gilt*, which amounted to forty call'd thousand Pounds *per Ann.* by which he much *Dane-gilt re-* ingratiated himself with the People; but his *leas'd.* preferring the *Normans* at the same Time gave them some disgust, and from hence for- Two ward we find two potent Factions form'd in Factions, *England*; by which the King seems to be *Godwin's* govern'd by turns, as the one or the other and the prevail'd. Earl *Godwin* and his Sons always *Normans* appear'd at the Head of the *English*, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *London*, and other *Normans* who had got Preference in *England*, supported the *Norman* Faction; both Parties had at length recourse to Arms, which happen'd first on this Occasion; *Eustace*, Earl of *Bologn*, who had married the King's Sister, having paid a Visit to the *English* Court, and returning through *Canterbury*, one of his Harbingers coming to take up Lodgings, and behaving himself insolently towards the Man of the House, and wounding him, was unluckily kill'd; whereupon Earl *Eustace* assembled his People, and kill'd the Master of the House, with eighteen or twenty more of his Neighbours, who endeavour'd to defend him: This occasion'd a general Insurrection of the Townsmen, who kill'd and wounded a great Number of the Earl's Followers, and drove them out of the

City. The Earl hereupon posted to Court with dismal Complaints against the Townsmen, and being seconded by the *Norman* Courtiers, so exasperated the King, that he commanded Earl *Godwin* to march immediately to *Canterbury*, and treat them as declar'd Enemies. The Earl desir'd to be excus'd from so odious an Employment, and urg'd that the City ought not to be condemn'd unheard, and that his Majesty ought rather to protect his own People against Foreigners, than punish them in an arbitrary Manner, without legal Process; and in conclusion, absolutely refus'd to put his Majesty's Orders in Execution.

The King hereupon assembled the Nobility at *Gloucester*, but *Godwin* and his Sons apprehending the *Norman* Faction would prevail, retir'd to their several Governments, and stood upon their Defence. Earl *Godwin*'s Command at this Time extended over *Kent*, *Sussex*, and *West Saxony*; his eldest Son *Swain* had *Oxfordshire*, *Gloucestershire*, *Herefordshire*, *Somersetshire*, and *Barkshire* for his Province; and *Harald* his youngest Son commanded in *Essex*, *East England*, and *Huntingtonshire*. Their Pretence for assembling their Forces was to restrain the Incursions of the *Welch*, and accordingly, *Swain* lay encamp'd upon the Borders; but the *Welch*, it seems, sent up Deputies to Court, and clear'd themselves of any Intentions to disturb the Peace of *England*. The King hereupon order'd a Body of Troops to be drawn together, under the Command of *Leofric*, Earl of *Mercia*, and *Siward*, Earl of *Northumberland*, in order to reduce *Godwin* and his Sons, who declar'd now they would be satisfied with nothing less than

than the delivering up of Earl *Eustace*, and the *Normans* and *Bolognians*, who held the Castle of *Canterbury* against them: However, Earl *Godwin* still retain'd so much Respect for his Prince, that he order'd his Forces not to attack the King's unless they were attack'd; and *Leofric* and the King's other Generals not being very zealous in engaging against the *English* Interest, persuaded his Majesty to come to a Treaty with Earl *Godwin*. The Nobility thereupon were commanded to assemble at *London*, for the accommodating all Differences; but *Godwin* refusing to trust himself there without his Troops, he with his three Sons, *Swain*, *Girtba*, and *Tosti*, were banish'd the Kingdom, and his People beginning to desert him, he thought it Prudence to retire to *Flanders*: till the Storm was blown over, where he was kindly receiv'd by Earl *Baldwin*, whose Daughter *Tosti* had married; and 'tis said, they carried as much Treasure with them as would load a Ship. *Harold* and *Leofric*, the two other Sons of Earl *Godwin*, retir'd into *Ireland*; and the pious King *Edward* was so incens'd against the whole Family, that he sent his Queen *Egitha*, the Daughter of *Godwin*, into a Nunnery.

Earl *Godwin* and his Sons being thus remov'd, *William*, Duke of *Normandy* came over into *England*, to pay a Visit to King *Edward*, being magnificently Entertain'd, on Account of the signal Services his Majesty had receiv'd in that Country during his Exile: But *Ingulph* assures us, that there was at this Time no Thoughts, or at least any Mention made of his Succeeding to the Crown; which is highly probable, because

Earl *Godwin* and his Sons banish'd.

1051.

at this Time Prince *Edward* the Son of *Edmund Ironside* was living, whom the King evidently design'd to have made his Successor. However, it was not Impolitick in the Duke to keep up his Acquaintance with King *Edward*, and revive the former Friendship which was between them; and possibly if it had not been for this lucky Interview, he might never have been thought on afterwards, when the Succession came to be settled.

About the same time Queen *Emma* (who seems to be in Favour neither with the *Normans* or Earl *Godwin's* Party; for the Ill Usage she receiv'd at the beginning of this Reign is generally ascrib'd to the Advice of that Earl) was charg'd by *Robert* the *Norman* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with consenting to the Cruelties practis'd on her Son *Alfred*; and with preparing Poyson for her Son *Edward*, his present Majesty; and lastly, of Incontinence with *Alain* Bishop of *Winchester*: Whereupon, 'tis said, she voluntarily offer'd to undergo a Trial by *Fire Ordeal*, in order to clear her Innocence. That the King and all the Bishops being assembled accordingly in the Cathedral of *Winchester*, and nine burning Plow-shares laid at unequal Distances, she pass'd unhurt over them all blindfold, and that thereupon the King restor'd her to her Estate and Liberty; and in Memory of her Deliverance, she gave nine Manors to the Cathedral of *Winchester*; and that the Archbishop, asham'd of the Accusation, fled out of *England*. But as this Story is not mention'd by antient Authors, and that the Bishop did not pass out of *England* till a Year afterwards, and upon another Occasion, there is no great Stress to be laid on the Relation.

It seems indeed agreed that Queen *Emma* was not very fond of her first Husband *Ethelred*, or of his Issue; but that *Hardecanute* the Son of *Canute*, was her Favourite Son, which might occasion King *Edward's* expressing some Resentment against her, upon his coming to the Crown, and 'tis possible he might after some Time be appeas'd and reconcil'd to her. And this I am apt to think is all the Foundation there is for this Novel of her Trial by *Fire Ordeal*; than which sure nothing can be more stupid, except *Water Ordeal*, and the trying the Titles to Estates, and the Innocence of Persons accus'd by single Combat in a *Bear-garden-way*; which were all the wise Institutions of that polite Generation our *Saxon* Ancestors, from whom it is so extremely Modish at this time of Day to derive our Original. But whether Queen *Emma* underwent this fiery Trial or not, certain it is, she died the Year after it is suppos'd to have happen'd, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of *Winchester*.

The *Welch* attack'd the *English* Borders about this Time, and being but weakly defended by the *Norman* Officers who commanded on that side, they committed great Ravages in the County of *Hereford*. *Harold* and *Leofwin*, two of the Sons of Earl *Godwin*, also sail'd up the *Severn*, and plunder'd the Country, defeating several Detachments of King *Edward's* Forces, which were sent to restrain them: They afterwards sail'd round the *West* of *England*, and joyn'd their Father Earl *Godwin*, who hover'd about upon the Coast of *Kent* and *Sussex* with a Squadron of arm'd Vessels, and went frequently on Shoar to sound the Affections of the People, and recruit

1051.

1053.

Godwin
and his
Sons re-
stor'd.

His
Death.

recruit his Fleet, which he brought to *Sandwich*, and put the Court in a terrible Consternation. The *Normans* hereupon put the King upon assembling his Navy and Land Forces; but there seem'd a general Backwardness to the Service, and Earl *Godwin* sail'd up the *Thames* as high as *London*, in a manner compelling the King to restore him and his Sons to their former Posts, and obliging him to banish their Enemies the *Normans*, among whom were *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *William* Bishop of *London*, and *Ulf* Bishop of *Lincoln*, with their Dependants; but *William* being an inoffensive Man, and generally belov'd, was soon after permitted to return to his Bishoprick, and now the Administration was in a manner in the Hands of Earl *Godwin* and his Sons again. But it was not long after their Restoration before their Father Earl *Godwin* died: For in the Year 1053, King *Edward* celebrating the Feast of *Easter* at *Winchester*, and the Earl sitting with him at Table as usual, was suddenly taken Speechless, and drop'd down from his Chair; whereupon his three Sons, *Harold*, *Tosti*, and *Gyrtha*, who were present, took him up, and carried him into another Apartment, thinking he was in a Fit, but he lay Languishing and Insensible three or four Days, and then expir'd, being buried in the old Monastery at *Winchester*. The Monks who wrote after the *Norman* Conquest, and whose Business it was to render the Memory of the *Godwins* as black as possible, relate, that as he sat at Table with the King, some mention being made of his Brother *Alfred*, *Godwin*, who apprehended himself suspected of bringing that Prince to an

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an untimely End, said, that upon mentioning the Name of *Alfred*, he always observ'd that the King frown'd upon him; but he wish'd he might never swallow the Piece of Bread he then put into his Mouth, if he had been concern'd in taking away his Life, or opposing the Interest of his Majesty or his Family; and that the Earl had no sooner spoke the Words than he was choak'd with that very Mouthful, and sunk down in his Chair. But it is not to be expected, as our Historians observe, that a Nobleman who had so strenuously oppos'd the *Norman* Interest shou'd be represented more favourably when they were in Power. He had six Sons, five of whom had enjoy'd eminent Posts in the Government, namely *Swain*, *Tosti*, *Gyrtha*, *Leofwin*, and *Harold*; of whom *Swain* died in his Pilgrimage, to or from *Jerusalem*, before his Father; whither he went, 'tis said, according to the Custom of those Times, bare-foot, to atone for the Murders, and other Offences he had been guilty of; and *Wolnud* the sixth, was a Hostage in *Normandy*, for the good Behaviour of the rest. To *Harold*, the youngest but most popular of his surviving Sons, was given his Government of *West Saxony*.

A little before the Death of *Godwin*, *Rhese*, the Brother of *Griffin*, Prince of *South Wales*, having by his Incurfions done much Mischief in the *English* Pale, was taken Prisoner, and his Head sent to the King at *Gloucester*.

The following Year the King order'd a Body of Troops to advance into *Scotland*, and a great Fleet at the same Time to attend their Motions, the whole being commanded by *Seward*, Earl of *Northumberland*, who obtain'd

1054

Scotland
subdued.

Prince
Edward
sent for.

Edgar
Atheling
his Son.

obtain'd a compleat Victory over *Macbeth* the King of *Scots*, and drove him out of the Kingdom, and by the Direction of King *Edward* plac'd *Malcolm* upon the Throne ; who consented to hold his Dominions of the Crown of *England*. About the same Time *Aldred*, Bishop of *Worcester* was sent upon an Embassy to the Emperor of *Germany*, to desire that the King's Nephew Prince *Edward*, who had long remain'd an Exile in that Court, might be suffer'd to return Home, the King designing him for his Successor ; but he died soon after his Arrival, leaving one Son nam'd *Edgar Atheling*, whom I shall have frequent Occasion of mentioning hereafter, and two Daughters, viz. *Margaret* and *Christina*.

Earl *Siward* dying soon after his Expedition into *Scotland*, and leaving his Son an Infant, his Government was bestow'd on *Tofti*, one of the Sons of Earl *Godwin*, tho' it was usual in these Times to confer the Father's Command upon the Son, where he had deserv'd well, and his Son was of an Age fit to undertake it. About the same Time Earl *Algar*, Son of the faithful Earl *Leofric* (whose Wisdom and Loyalty to his Prince made him esteem'd the *Nestor* of the Age) was banish'd on Suspicion of Treasonable Practices ; whereupon he went over into *Ireland*, where having procur'd eighteen Ships of War, he join'd *Griffin* Prince of *Wales*, and invading *Herefordshire*, they defeated the King's Forces commanded by *Rodolph*, a Nephew of the King's, and some *Norman* Officers : These Confederates afterwards took *Hereford* by Storm, and having burnt and plunder'd the City, retir'd into *Wales* with their

their Booty, and a great Number of Prisoners, without any Disturbance from the King's Forces; but an Army was soon after rais'd, of which *Harold* was made General, who march'd immediately into *Wales*, but the Enemy thought it Prudence to quit the Field, and retreat to their Hills, proposing Terms of Accommodation; and *Algar*, probably on Account of his Father's Merit, was restor'd to the King's Favour, and to his former Post: But *Griffin*, it seems, the very next Year made an Incursion into *Herefordshire* again, murdering *Leofgar* the Bishop of the Diocess, and many of the Clergy, with *Agelworth* Viscount of *Herefordshire*. *Leofric*, that good old States-Man, mention'd with so much Honour by our Historians, dying about this time, was succeeded in his Earldom by his Son *Algar*; but his Conduct was such that he was banish'd a second time, within a Year after his Father's Death, and retiring to his old Ally Prince *Griffin*, they so harrals'd the *English* Borders, that the King chose rather to restore *Algar* to his Command than be at the Expence of raising another Army.

Malcolm King of *Scots*, who was oblig'd to King *Edward* for his Crown, came into *England* in the Year 1060, and had an Interview with his Majesty: but however, very little after his return, we are told, he harrals'd the *English* Borders in a terrible manner; and *Griffin*, Prince of *Wales*, continu'd his Depredations in the *West*; but *Harold* and his Brother *Tosti* falling upon *Griffin* both by Sea and Land, compell'd him to fly his Country, and his Subjects to renounce their Allegiance to him, and consent to become Tributaries to *England*, and to give Hostages for the Per-

1060.

formance of what they had stipulated ; and the following Year *Griffin* was made Prisoner, and his Head made a Present to his Majesty by *Harold*. Notwithstanding all the Mischiefs *Griffin* had done to the *English* Borders, and his perfidious Breach of Treaties, the King was pleased to divide his Dominions between his two Brothers, *Blethgent* and *Rithwalan*, who in the Presence of *Harold* took an Oath of Allegiance to the King of *England*.

But however bravely *Harold* and his Brother *Tosti* had behav'd themselves in reducing the *Welch*, such it seems had been the Extortion and Oppression committed by *Tosti* in his Government of *Northumberland*, that the whole Country unanimously rose, and plunder'd his Palace at *York*, kill'd great Numbers of his Servants and Dependants, and *Harold* being sent with a Body of Troops Northward to enquire into the Reason of this Insurrection, he met vast Multitudes of the Sufferers, who were advanced as far as *Northampton*, declaring, That as they were free-born Subjects of England, they cou'd no longer bear the Insolence of the Earl, and preferr'd Death to the Loss of their Liberties, which he had Invaded. And either their Complaints were well grounded, or their Numbers were so formidable, that they procur'd Earl *Tosti* to be banish'd. Whereupon he went over with his Family to his Father-in-law *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders* ; and *Morchar* the Son of *Algar*, at the desire of the Province, was made Earl of *Northumberland* in his room. Some Writers indeed relate, that the Occasion of *Tosti's* Banishment was a Quarrel between him and his Brother *Harold*, in the King's Pre-

Presence, where they came to Blows; but the other is look'd upon as the most probable Occasion of *Tofti's* Banishment.

And now we come to enquire into the Occasion of Earl *Harold's* visiting Duke *William* of *Normandy*: Some relate, that *Harold* diverting himself at his Manor of *Boseham* in *Sussex*, and putting to Sea in a Pleasure Boat, was suddenly overtaken by a Storm, and driven upon the Coast of *Normandy*, when he intended nothing less. Others say, that he went thither by the Permission of King *Edward*, to procure the Release of his Brother *Wolnud*, who remain'd as an Hostage or Pledge with the Duke of *Normandy*, for the Fidelity of Earl *Godwin*, and the rest of his Sons: For tho' King *Edward* was so good to that Family, as to pass by the several Attempts against his Government, and the Disturbances they had created in his Reign; yet it seems he was not so very easy as to restore them to their Commands without receiving Pledges for their future Loyalty; and accordingly *Wolnud* one of the Brothers, and *Hacan* the Son of *Swain*, were sent over to Duke *William*, to remain in safe Custody.

1065.
Harold
goes to
the Court
of *Nor-*
mandy.

But there are still another set of Writers, who affirm, that *Harold* really went over on an Embassy from King *Edward* to the Duke, to acquaint him that the King had appointed the Duke his Successor. However all agree, that *Harold* upon some Account or other was at the Court of *Normandy*, and that there was some Discourse between him and the Duke concerning the Succession to the Crown of *England*; and that *Harold* did promise to second his Pretensions to it, on a Demise of the Crown,

Upon the whole, it seems to me that *Harold* was driven upon the Coast of *Normandy* by Accident; for as to the Affair of releasing his Brother, who was an Hostage there, this was to have been Negotiated with King *Edward* on this side the Water, for whose Security he was detain'd in *Normandy*, and whenever the King had signified to Duke *William* his Consent, no doubt the Duke wou'd have releas'd him; and therefore there was no Necessity of *Harold's* going over on this Errand. And as to the Message concerning the Succession, surely the King would never have pitch'd upon a Nobleman of all others the most unacceptable to that Court, and their declar'd Enemy, for such an Embassy. Nor is it to be suppos'd that *Harold* would have been very forward in hazarding himself on that side after the Provocations he had given them. But what some Writers have suggested in this Case seems very natural, namely, that *Harold* being driven upon the Enemies Coast by Accident, in order to procure his Liberty, either pretended he was sent on Purpose to propose the Business of the Succession; or that the Duke taking Advantage of the Accident endeavour'd to gain him over to his Party, and to extort an Oath from him to support his Pretensions; which Earl *Harold* probably did not scruple to humour him in, in order to obtain his Freedom, tho' he intended nothing less than the Performance of it.

As to Archbishop *Robert's* being concern'd in carrying the Message about the Succession, this some Historians have observ'd, cou'd not be true, because *Robert* was dead some time before they suppose he was sent on that Embassy; but thus much we may gather from all

all Circumstances, as to Duke *William's* Right to the Crown of *England*; That if he was really assured by *Harold*, the greatest Subject in the *British* Court, that King *Edward* had appointed him his Successor, and his Friends in *England* really believ'd the Fact to be true, whether the King really appointed him his Successor or not, both he and they were very excusable in endeavouring to support his Pretensions. For what could be stronger Evidence of his Right than the Testimony of the Duke's greatest Enemy and Competitor? And the People are certainly very excusable in obeying that Prince, who according to their Judgment, and the best Evidence that can be procur'd, has the best Title. Nor can I see in this Case how it was possible the Nation shou'd ever be undeceiv'd if the Fact was otherwise; for *Harold* might afterwards pretend that the Story he had fram'd of King *Edward's* having appointed the Duke his Successor, was only a *Finesse*, as the *French* term it, to get out of the Duke's Hands; Yet as he afterwards set up himself, and became a Competitor for the Crown, and thereupon was concern'd in point of Interest to deny what he had before so solemnly asserted, and sworn to, it is no Wonder if he found a Difficulty in prevailing on the World to believe him against his own former Oath; of which no doubt the Duke took Care to have Witnesses enough, when he had him in his Power.

But leaving every one to his own Judgment as to this Occurrence, certain it is, that the following Year (*that dreadful Year* as our Historians term it, usher'd in by a blazing Comet, which they tell us portended some dreadful Calamity) King *Edward* visibly de-

1066.

declin'd in his Health, and tho' he assisted at the Dedication of the great Church he had re-edify'd at *Westminster*, in the *Christmas* Holy-Days, he receiv'd the blessed Eucharist on the fifth of *January* following, and expir'd in a few Hours afterwards; having Reign'd something more than three and twenty Years and an half, and was buried in the same Church at *Westminster* already mention'd; which he richly endow'd, and conferr'd many Privileges upon: To the Grant whereof, 'tis said, was fix'd the first broad Seal which the Kings of *England* ever us'd.

And here it may not be improper to consider what Right *Edward* the Confessor had to the Crown of *England*; for on his Power to dispose of the Crown, *Harold* his immediate Successor, and *William* the Conqueror, both seem to have rely'd in making out their respective Titles, both of them Claiming by the Donation of this Prince. Now it must be confess'd that the Issue of *Edmund Ironside*, elder Brother to the Confessor, were a Degree nearer in Blood; but on the Confessor's coming to the Throne, they were in a Foreign Country, whither they had been so long banish'd that they were almost forgot by the People of *England*; at least they had never set up their Claim, neither do we find any part of the Nation endeavouring to promote it, and probably if the Confessor had refus'd to Accept the Crown, it would at that time have been of no Service to them; whereas by his accepting it, he might probably have it in his Power one Day to restore them to their Rights: And we find he actually sent for his Nephew *Edward*, the Son of his Brother *Edmund* from *Germany*, with a Design to make him

him his Successor, or perhaps to resign the Kingdom to him, if his sudden Death had not prevented it; and it might not be in his Power probably to do it sooner, for it is generally held that King *Edward* had but little Ambition, and wou'd have been very far from invading the Right of his Nephews, if he had apprehended there was any Possibility of securing the Kingdom to them any other way, than by his accepting of it till the Nation had time to consider their Claim; and he can never be look'd upon as an Usurper, who only takes the Administration upon him to secure it for the rightful Prince.

It is objected further, that his nominating *William* Duke of *Normandy* to succeed him, to the Exclusion of his Nephew *Edgar*, is a plain Indication that he never design'd to restore the Crown to that Family. But admitting this to be true, it must be consider'd on the other hand, that the Confessor had indeed a Right to the Crown of *England*, superior to that of his elder Brother's Family: For *Edmund Ironside* being reduc'd to great Distress by his Rival *Canute the Dane*, they consented to divide the Kingdom between them: And upon *Edmund's* Death all the Nobility and Bishops of the Realm declar'd upon Oath, That by Virtue of the aforesaid Treaty King *Canute* was rightfully entitled to the whole Kingdom; and if so, then the Issue of *Edmund* were excluded by their Father's own Act; and consequently cou'd make no legal Pretensions to the Crown: For *Canute* was succeeded by his Son *Hardecnute*, who appointed the Confessor his half Brother his Successor, which gave him a Right superior to that of any other Person whatever; and consequently

sequently he might dispose of it after his Death to the Duke of *Normandy*; or to whomsoever he saw fit.

In this King's Reign the *Saxon* Laws were Collected, and digested into some Method, which from thence obtain'd the Name of the Confessor's Laws, so often contended for in succeeding Times; and notwithstanding the Pleadings were by the Conqueror appointed to be in the *Norman* Language, yet the Substance of our Laws, 'tis observ'd, remain'd much the same after the Conquest as before, when the Kingdom came to be fully settled. I must not forget here that this was the first of our Kings who pretended to heal the Evil by his Touch; tho' it seems it was the Opinion of those Times, that this Gift was bestow'd upon him for his Holiness and Personal Virtues, and not as he was King of *England*; which has given some People occasion to question whether this Power descended to his Successors; and when they are told that there are many Instances of this Distemper being cur'd by the Royal Touch, it is usually answer'd, that a good Conceit of the Physician goes a great way towards the Cure: And if solemn Prayers may be suppos'd to prevail with Heaven on other Occasions, why not here, where suitable Prayers are offer'd up for the Relief of the poor People afflicted with that Disease? But so great was the Sanctity of the Confessor, that blind Men, 'tis said, were cur'd by washing their Eyes in the Water in which he wash'd his Hands: This however is a Privilege I think his Successors have never claim'd a Title to, any more than to his Visions, or that Prophetick Spirit which the Monks of Old tell us he was endow'd with. And I find *Sigand*,
Arch-

Archbishop of *Canterbury*, even then laugh'd
at the Visions of this Saint, as the Dreams of a
doting Old Man.

King *Edward* was no sooner dead but Earl *Harold* 2.
Harold claim'd the Crown, and was Recogniz'd by the Nobility and Clergy in general; which makes it not improbable that the late King was prevail'd on to appoint him his Successor in his last Moments. And shou'd it be admitted, that he had before appointed *William* Duke of *Normandy* to succeed him, yet since it is held that the latter Appointment supercedes the former, this Prince upon second Thoughts might not have so weak a Title as is generally imagin'd, and as I must confess I was once of Opinion he had. And as to his having sworn to assist Duke *William* in his Pretensions, if it be consider'd, in the first Place, that his Oath was extorted from him by Force, and that when he made it he had himself really no Colour to expect the Crown would be settled upon himself: These Considerations very much alter the Case, for he might not only urge, that a Compulsory Oath was not binding, but that the King having appointed him his Successor afterwards, it could not be expected that he ever intended by that Oath to renounce the Crown if it was conferr'd upon him, or to prefer the Duke's Interest to his own: He swore to maintain the Duke's Title, which he seem'd to have by the former Appointment, but when that was vacated by a later Disposition, he was surely absolv'd from that Oath: And supposing King *Edward* had appointed a third Person to succeed him, it would certainly have been Injustice in *Harold* to have assisted the Duke's Pretensions, because the Title was now vested in another.

and his Oath could never oblige him to do an Act of Injustice; therefore, since the Right was now in *Harold*, I don't apprehend it any Breach of his Oath to Claim the Crown, or to refuse the surrendring it to the Duke. In every Oath and every Promise it must generally be understood that they are to be perform'd, all things remaining in the state they are, for if the fulfilling them becomes unlawful, or impossible after the making the Oath, all the World will agree that the Oath is void; and if the thing promis'd were unlawful or impossible at the time of the Promise, then is it Void from the beginning; and admitting the Confessor had not disposed of the Crown to Duke *William*, at the time the Promise was made, I can't see how *Harold* could lawfully enter into any such Engagements, because *William* had no Pretensions to the Crown by Proximity of Blood; so that I think when our Historians charge King *Harold* with Perjury, they are a little too free with his Memory, and have not duly weigh'd the Circumstances of his Case.

But whatever King *Harold's* Title was, it is generally acknowledg'd that he was extremely well qualify'd to wear a Crown: That he Enacted good Laws, and apply'd himself to promote the Interest of his People on all Occasions; that he repaired his Navy, and recruited his Forces, and put himself in a Posture to defend his Country against the Invasions that threaten'd it; nay, that he discourag'd Vice, and was extremely obliging to the Clergy, tho' it was his Misfortune not to Court the Pope, as his Competitor did, which might portend him much more Mischief than the Comet so much talk'd of, which

appear'd in the beginning of this Reign for seven Mornings successively ; for the Holy See had a great Stroke in those Days in the making and overturning Princes Titles. The first Pretender to the Crown in this Reign was *Tosti*, *Harold's* elder Brother, tho' by what Right he claim'd it is not easy to imagine, and perhaps was mov'd more out of Envy to disturb his Brother's Government, than any Hopes he could have of succeeding. He at first set Sail from *Flanders* with four Ships only, harrassing and plundering the Coast between the *Isle of Wight* and *Sandwich* ; and *Harold* equipping a Squadron to go in Search of him, he remov'd to the Coast of *Lincolnshire*, where he burnt and plunder'd the Country also, and then retir'd into *Scotland*, and was entertain'd by King *Malcolm*.

About the same time, 'tis said, *William* Duke of *Normandy* sent Ambassadors to *Harold*, to remind him of his Promise and Oath, to assist him in obtaining the Kingdom ; to which our Historians tell us, *Harold* answer'd, That the Oath was extorted from him to obtain his Liberty ; and that indeed he had no Right to dispose of the Kingdom when 'twas made, if the Oath had been Voluntary, and consequently the Oath was Void. He dismiss'd the Ambassadors also with Marks of Ignominy, according to *Matthew Paris*, sending them back upon poor lame Horses, and exposing them to the Derision of the People. But these are Circumstances probably added by the Friends of the *Norman*, the better to justify his Attempt against the Kingdom.

Duke *William* having brought over the Pope to acknowledge his Title, who sent him a consecrated Banner, all the neighbouring

Princes,

Princes, as in a *Crusado* War, sent him Reinforcements, and Multitudes of Adventurers offer'd him their Service, in hopes of sharing the Plunder of this wealthy Kingdom. *Europe* being generally at Peace at this time, most of the Veteran Troops from every Country Rendezvous'd under the Standard of this Prince. It is computed that no less than eight hundred or a thousand Vessels were assembled to transport them, of which *Harold* having Intelligence, levy'd a great Army, and march'd to the Southern Coast, over against *France*, in Expectation of a Descent; but whether Duke *William* propos'd the deferring his Expedition till a more favourable Opportunity, or that all his Forces were not assembled, certain it is, he did not attempt to embark them during the Summer. In the mean time Advice was brought to *Harold*, that his Brother *Tosti* and *Harold Harvager* King of *Norway*, had join'd their Fleets, and were arriv'd in the Mouth of the *Humber*, and had afterwards taken *York* by Storm; whereupon the King march'd towards the North, and upon the way receiv'd Intelligence, that the Earls *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who commanded his Forces on that side, had been defeated by the *Norwegians*; but the King coming to *York* five Days after the Battle, fell upon the Conquerors at a Place called *Battle-Bridge*, and after a very obstinate Resistance gain'd a compleat Victory, both the King of *Norway* and his Brother *Tosti* being kill'd in the Field of Battle, and a very great Booty taken, of which the Enemy had just before plunder'd the Country, which some of our wise Historians tell us, the King incited by his Covetousness ingross'd to himself, and thereby disoblig'd his Troops, which they

they would have us think one Reason of the ill Success he met with afterwards. But it appears that never any Men behav'd themselves better than the *English* did, who fought under this Prince against the Duke of *Normandy*, and this by the Account of those very Historians, who suggest that the Army was Disaffected. But to return to our History, The Duke of *Normandy* probably hearing of the King of *Norway's* Descent in the North of *England*, and that *Harold* was march'd with his Army that way, laid hold of this favourable Opportunity of embarking for *England*, and accordingly landed near *Hastings*, on the Coast of *Sussex*, the latter End of *September*; when, 'tis said, King *Harold* imagin'd he had laid aside his Design till the next Spring. But it seems very probable to me, that the King of *Norway* and Duke *William* acted in Concert on this Occasion, and that the *Norwegians* were encourag'd to burn and plunder the North of *England*, in order to draw the King's Forces from the Southern Coast, at the time when it was given out that the Descent from *France* was laid aside. It is hardly to be suppos'd that two Princes shou'd Attack the same Kingdom at one time, without knowing each others Design, and concerting the properest Measures to distress the Enemy; and it must be acknowledg'd by People who think at all, that King *Harold*, as he was scarce settled on his Throne, had a very difficult Game to manage, being attack'd at one and the same time by two such formidable Powers, and that there are few Princes ever behav'd themselves with more Bravery and Conduct on the like Emergencies, notwithstanding the stupid Reflections of some of our doughty Historians.

Duke of
Norman-
dy Lands

But

But to proceed, while *Harold* was rejoicing for his Victory over his Brother and the King of *Norwoy* at *York*, he receiv'd Advice of the Duke of *Normandy's* Landing in *Suffex*. Whereupon our Historians relate, that he precipitately march'd back with a handful of Men to engage the Duke, before a third part of his Army could be assembled; that he made an ill Choice of his Ground on the Day of Battle, and indeed that his whole Conduct was but one continued Mismanagement, to which alone his Misfortunes were to be ascrib'd. And yet these very Gentlemen assure us, that with the King there fell the two Princes his Brothers, the greatest part of the *English* Nobility, and upwards of seventy seven thousand Men, and that the Battle was obstinately fought from Nine o'Clock in the Morning till it was dark Night, and the Fate of the Day not determin'd till the King was dead. Now if the greatest part of the Nobility were kill'd in the Battle, it cannot be presum'd that many of them were Absent; and if seventy seven thousand Men fell in the Battle, I believe we may very well compute there were twice that Number in the Field; and seven or eight score thousand Men one would have thought sufficient to have engag'd an Enemy on any Ground in *England*: And that an Historian who had taken Notice of this cou'd never have charg'd a Prince with Indiscretion for engaging with too small a Force: But the King being kill'd, and the Duke obtaining the Victory, and having the whole Country in subjection to him afterwards, and the disposal not only of all Preferments, but of all the Lands of the Kingdom, no Wonder if we find the Writers in his

his own and his Son's Reigns magnifying the Conduct of their Prince and Heroe, and, like other ignoble Spirits, loading the Unfortunate with numberless Faults and Follies; and as all succeeding Historians have taken their Accounts from those Writers without Examination, no Wonder we see those repeated Inconsistencies standing upon Record at this Day.

I shall now examine a little more particularly the Accounts our Historians give of their Heroe *William's* Expedition into *England*. They tell us, That in the Month of *September*, 1066. his Fleet rendezvous'd at *St Valerie*, where waiting some Days for a fair Wind, the Soldiers began to Mutiny, and charg'd their Prince with attempting impracticable Designs; whereupon the Duke caus'd the Reliques of *St. Valerie* to be brought out and expos'd, and so propitious was Heaven to their Prayers, that the Wind immediately came about as fair as they could wish, which created as much eagerness in the Soldiers to put to Sea, as they had express'd Reluctance before, and setting sail, they soon arriv'd near *Hastings*, on the Coast of *Suffex*: That the Duke happening to fall down on his first coming on Shore, a Soldier cry'd out, he had taken Possession of *England*, and the Heroe order'd all his Ships to be burnt, that his Men might think of nothing but Death or Conquest. That some Spies being sent by *Harold* to view his Camp, he discover'd their Design, and having shewn them his Army, and dismiss'd them with a Reward, they were very lavish in magnifying the Generosity of the Duke, and the good Order of his Troops; but observ'd that they look'd like so many
Priests,

Priests, because their Lips and Faces were close shaved, whereas the *English* wore Whiskers. But King *Harold* smiling, reply'd, they were no Priests, but very brave Fellows.

That Duke *William* before the Engagement made Proposals to King *Harold*, that he would either resign his Kingdom, or acknowledge to hold it of him; Or, lastly, that he would try his Pretensions to it by single Combat. But *Harold*, push'd on by his unlucky Fate, says a Reverend Historian, answer'd, That God and the Swords of the Nation should decide the Controversy. And no hopes of Accommodation appearing, both Parties prepar'd to engage the next Morning; the *English* spending the Night in Drinking and Revelling, and the *Normans* in their Devotions and receiving the blessed Sacrament.

Remarks of
the D. of
*Norman-
dy's* Ex-
pedition.

Now I think I may appeal to any Persons who are at all conversant in History, if they have not observ'd many of the Circumstances here mention'd, related of several other Generals and their Armies on the like Occasion; which in the Opinion of the Judicious, creates a strong Suspicion of their being feign'd in this Case. How often have we been told when a Heroe is about to enter upon an Expedition, that his Soldiers have been disheartened by this or that ill Omen, which the General has had the Address to give another turn to, and make it an Argument of his future Success. *Cæsar* and *Alexander* happening to fall at their first coming on Shore, cry'd out in much the same Terms, they had taken Possession of the Land they fell on. And as for our antient *English* Histories which were written by Monks, these are observ'd generally

nerally to make the Armies very Devout that are successful, and the Unfortunate are condemn'd for Debauchees and Reprobates of Course : But as the Forces which made up great part of Duke *William's* Army consisted of Adventurers, who join'd him in hopes of Plunder, rather than on Account of the Justice of his Cause, we may reasonably suppose their Devotion was not very great, and the Virtue of those who fought so bravely in Defence of their Country, and sell a Sacrifice to Liberty, will possibly be thought by considering Men to be equal to that of the Saints in *William's* Army. I don't find that any King of *England* and his People in any Times were ever more unanimous or exerted themselves to a greater Degree than on this Occasion : They fought two great Battles in little more than the space of a Month, in which time also they march'd twice almost from one end of *England* to the other with incredible Diligence ; and in the last fatal Battle, the King with the two Princes his Brothers, and the Flower of the Nobility, bravely lost their Lives in Fight, rather than fly, and basely survive the Liberties of their Country ; and for this one Noble Act, whatever had been their Foibles, a generous Historian wou'd have forborn to insult their Memories ; nor do I think it at all to their Dishonour that they were overpower'd, when so many select Bodies from almost every Country in *Europe* were engag'd against them, and they had just before fought an obstinate Battle with another hardy People, wherein no doubt they must have sustain'd considerable Losses. If ever it be the Fortune of *England* to be conquer'd again, I should be proud to see her brave Sons as una-

nimously engage in her Defence, rather than become Slaves to a Foreign Power. What Indignation therefore must it raise in every Breast, to find poor injudicious Writers censuring, not only the Conduct but the Morals of a great Prince, and of a brave loyal People, when from several Parts of their own Relation it appears they deserv'd unlimited Applause! But I must do that Justice to our later Historians, that they are not the Forgers of these Calumnies, but barely humble Transcribers of them.

But however partial or incompetent the Writers after the Conquest were, they cannot be contradicted in many Particulars at this Distance of Time; we can only therefore give the Relations as we find them, and animadvert upon the Probability of the Facts, and the Justness of their Reasoning, as I shall take the Liberty of doing, in relation to the Battle fought between King *Harold* and the Duke.

Battle
between
Harold
and
Duke
William.

We are inform'd then, that the *English* being all Foot, were drawn up in close Order, arm'd with Battle-Axes and Shields, or as others relate, with a kind of long Bills, which had a Spear at the end, and serv'd to Charge, or defend themselves against the Horse, as the Bayonets at the End of our Muskets do at this Day. And that the King with the Princes his Brothers stood on Foot by the Royal Standard, which is the whole Account that is given us of the Disposition of the *English* Army. On the other side, 'tis said, the Center of the *Normans* consisted of Foot, most of them arm'd with Long-Bows, but there were Wings of Horse on the Right and Left, on which they principally rely'd:

That

That the Duke made a Speech at the Head of his Army, putting the Soldiers in mind of the Justice of his Cause, the Valour of their Ancestors, and his own Successes; declaring he was confident of the Victory, from the Guilt and Perjury of his Rival the Usurper. That the *Normans* thereupon sung the Ballad of *Rowland*, after which, having said a short Prayer for Success, they advanc'd to meet the Enemy, who was drawn up in a strait uneven Spot of Ground, very Inconmodious. *Harold* was not backward to meet them, 'tis said, and the Battle was fought with equal Bravery and Conduct on both sides; that the *English* were annoy'd most by the Arrows from the *Norman* Long-Bows, and much surpriz'd to be wounded thus at a Distance, being unacquainted, till then, with such kind of missive Weapons. However, when the *English* came to be engag'd in a closer Fight, the *Normans* were hewn down by their Bills in a dreadful Manner, and *Harold's* Men stood so firm, that the *Norman* Horse could make no Impression on them, tho' the Duke in Person charg'd so often that he had three Horses kill'd under him; whereupon he made a Signal for a Retreat, which the *English* mistaking for a Flight, pursued the Enemy without observing any Order, and the *Normans* returning to the Charge, made great Havock among them, notwithstanding which the *English* frequently rallied, and sold their Lives very dear, and some of them having gain'd the Ascent of a Hill, roll'd down great Stones upon the *Normans*, and maintain'd their Ground against them. In another Place, in passing a small Valley, or Ditch, as some Writers call it, they made

such a Slaughter of the *Normans*, that it was fill'd up with their dead Bodies; insomuch that the Success of the Day remain'd doubtful till the Evening, when *Harold*, having discharg'd all the Parts of an accomplish'd General, was unfortunately shot in the Head with an Arrow, of which he instantly died; and the *English* having lost their King, immediately dispers'd and fled. But the Conqueror generously sent the Body of King *Harold* to his Mother; and was so offended with a certain *Norman* Knight, who gave him a Wound as he lay stretch'd out in the Field of Battle, that he discarded him his Service. This Battle happen'd on the 14th of *October*, 1066; when *Harold* had been little more than nine Months upon the Throne.

Re-
marks on
the Ac-
count of
the Bat-
tle.

I doubt the Reader from this Relation will scarce be able to form any Idea of the Disposition of the two Armies, or the Manner of the Engagement; and as to those Facts, that there were no Horse in the *English* Army, and a very great Body in the Duke's Service, even these seem a little unlikely, for military Tenures were in force here long before the *Norman* Conquest; and I am much mistaken, if the Barons and Knights, with their Tenants and Dependants, who made up the Bulk of our Armies, did not for the most part serve on Horseback, and of such it is reasonable to suppose, the Army of *Harold* was compos'd, because most of the *English* Nobility, 'tis said, fell in that Battle. It is further observable, that scarce any Country affords a better Breed of Horses than *England* for Service, and there are many Instances where the *Britons*, *Saxons*, and *Danes*,

Danes, rais'd Bodies of Horfe as well as Foot; and how the Horfe came therefore to be entirely laid aside at the Time of the Conquest, is not easy to conceive; any more than it is how Duke *William* could find out Means to transport such a vast Body of Horfe as to compose the Bulk of his Army.

It is hardly to be credited also, that the *English* should be so unacquainted with Bows and Arrows, and so surpriz'd at their being wounded at a Distance, as is related; when the *Normans* had liv'd so long amongst them in the Reign of *Edward the Confessor*, and possess'd the principal Commands in the Nation, as well Military as Civil. What sort of Weapons the *English* Bills or Battle-Axes were, I believe few People will pretend to describe at this Day; but if they were two-handed Weapons, with which a Man was to lift up both his Arms when he struck, they were very awkward Instruments for a close Fight, where the Soldiers stand Shoulder to Shoulder. As to the Stratagem of the *Normans* pretending to run, to induce the *English* to break their Order, this has been related of so many other Engagements, that I give no great Faith to it. But for our Historians at the beginning of the Relation, to give *Harold* the Character of a rash hair-brain'd General, that engag'd precipitately before his Forces were assembled, and to tell us that the *English* were a Parcel of effeminate Debauchees, divided into Factions, and disaffected to his Government; and to acquaint us in the compass of a few Lines afterwards, That *Harold* acted the part of an accomplish'd General; that most of the *English* Nobility and seventy thousand Men fell with him;

that

that they sold their Lives dear, and the Fortune of the Day was uncertain till the King receiv'd that fatal Wound: How absurd is it for them to relate Things so inconsistent in the same Breath almost, without giving themselves leave to reflect that both Parts of the Relation could not be true?

That there was a Battle fought, and that Duke *William* obtain'd the Victory, is evident from his mounting the Throne soon afterwards; but for the Number or Nature of the Troops on either side, their Disposition, Arms, and the Circumstances of the Engagement, I must confess I lay but very little stress on the Relation, it being impossible to assent to Contradictions. As for the *Normans* singing the Ballad of *Rowland* first, and then saying a short Prayer for Success, and the Duke's making a Speech at the Head of an hundred thousand Men, to declare the Justice of his Cause, I don't apprehend it worth the Readers Time or mine, to make many Remaks on such Incidents, in which the Writer only gratifies an idle Vein of thinking. Ballads might, for ought I know, be sung in Armies formerly, as Hautboys play before our Men now; but whether it were so or not, is not very material.

C H A P. XI.

Contains the Reign of William I. usually still'd the Conqueror.

Will. I.
An In-
troducti-
on to the

AS an Introduction to the History of this Reign, it may be proper to enquire who these *Normans* originally were on to that made a Conquest of *England*; and it is observable





K. WILLIAM
the Conqueror.

observable that *Gaul* and *Britain* frequently History underwent the same Fate, being each of them of this successively subdued by the *Romans*, the Ger- Reign. *mans* (or *Saxons*,) the *Danes*, and *Norwegians*.

The *Danes* and *Norwegians*, with other TheNor- Northern Nations who went under the gene- man Peo- ral Name of *Normans*, attack'd and plunder'd ple.

France at the same time they infested the *British* Shoars, ravaging the Country from Sea to Sea, and destroying all before them, even the Capital City of *Paris* did not escape their Fury. They were become so exceeding terrible to the *French*, about the Year 911, when *Rollo*, or *Raoul* as the *French* call him, from whom the Conqueror descended, commanded their Armies, that Deputations were sent to *Charles the Simple*, the then King, from all Parts of *France*, entreating him to purchase their Peace with *Rollo* upon any Terms, whereupon *Charles* enter'd into a Treaty with the *Norman* Chief; and it was agreed, that the Province of *Normandy*, *Neustria* or *West France*, of which *Bretagne* was a Fief, shou'd be resign'd and transferr'd to *Rollo*, his Heirs and Successors, to be held however, as a Fee of the Crown of *France*, (according to their Historians) and that *Rollo* should be baptiz'd by the Name of *Robert*, and marry *Gisela*, the *French* King's Daughter. [The Provinces of *Normandy* and *Bretagne*, lie on the South side the *British* Channel, over-against *England*.]

Robert the first Duke, was succeeded by Pedigree *William* his Son, call'd *Longsword*, Anno 917. of the To him succeeded his Son, *Richard the Har-* Dukes of *dy*, Anno 943, who left a Son, call'd *Richard Norman-* the *Brave*, and a Daughter, call'd *Emma*, dy. after-

afterwards married to *Ethelred*, King of *England*, Father to *Edward the Confessor*. *Richard II.* succeeded his Father, *Anno 996*, and left three Sons by his first Wife, viz. *Richard*, *Robert*, and *William*; and by his Second, *William*, Earl of *Arques*, and *Manger*, Archbishop of *Roan*. *Richard III.* the eldest Son of *Richard II.* succeeded his Father, *Anno 1026*.

Richard III. dying unmarried, was succeeded by his Brother *Robert II.* *Anno 1028*. It was by the Assistance of this Prince that *Henry I.* maintain'd himself upon the Throne of *France*: *Robert* was successful also in reducing the Duke of *Bretagne*, his Vassal, who had refus'd him Homage, and in several Insurrections rais'd against him, always came off Victorious. The Duke, tho' averse to Matrimonial Engagements, was not an Enemy to the Fair, for 'tis related that he was so smitten at first Sight with a *Skinner's* Wife or Daughter, of *Falais*, that he took her to his Bed, and had a Son by her, call'd *William the Bastard*, afterwards King of *England*, and usually still'd *the Conqueror*, (whose Reign I am entering upon) of whom he was so extremely Fond, that he pass'd by all his legitimate Kinsmen, and determin'd to settle his Dominions upon him; but notwithstanding his Affection for his darling Son, and the Hazards he must necessarily be expos'd to during his Minority, he resolv'd, according to the Devotion of those Times, to make a Voyage to the *Holy Land*. The Reason of which, some have insinuated to be to atone for the Murder of his Brother *Richard*, whom he is suspected to have poyson'd, in order to succeed him.

Duke

Duke *Robert* before he enter'd on his Voyage, took all imaginable Precautions to secure his Dominions to *William* his bastard Son, who was then about ten Years of Age; He made the Nobility take the Oaths to him, and carried him to the King of *France* to do his Homage for *Normandy*, desiring that King to take the Guardianship of the young Prince upon him; and constituted his Kinsman *Alain*, Duke of *Bretagne*, Steward or Governor of *Normandy* in his Absence, with an almost unlimited Power.

The *Norman* Duke had not long left his Dominions, but the Princes who apprehended they had great Injustice done them, by his preferring a Bastard before them, incited several Insurrections, in the suppressing of which, the Duke of *Bretagne* having us'd some Severities, a Conspiracy was form'd against him and he was taken off by Poyson. About the same Time came Advice of the Death of Duke *Robert*, which occasion'd fresh Commotions, but the Nobility remaining faithful to the young Prince, he vanquish'd all his Competitors, and compell'd them to abandon his Territories. Upon these Successes, Duke *William* became fear'd Abroad and belov'd of his Subjects at Home, Governing his Dominions with great Applause, till he prepar'd for his Expedition against *England*, in which he met with that surprizing Success, as to become Master of the whole Kingdom by one single Battle, as has been already related.

After the Battle of *Hastings*, Duke *Wil-* The
liam having fortified that Port, march'd into Con-
Kent, and coming before the Castle of *Dover*, querors
 (then esteem'd the strongest Fortrefs in the Progress
 Kingdom)

after the Kingdom) the Place surrender'd without Battle of striking a Stroke, tho' it was full of Soldiers *Hastings*. who had fled from the Battle, and Gentle-men who resorted thither with their richest Moveables, as to a Place of the greatest Security; such was the Consternation of the *English* after that fatal Battle, wherein their King and the Flower of the Nobility lost their Lives! What the Articles of Surrender were, does not appear, but here, if any where, one would have thought the *Kentish* Men had an Opportunity of obtaining a Grant of their antient Privileges: As to their surprizing the Conqueror by a numerous Body of Men, who appear'd like a moving Forest, covering themselves by large Boughs of Trees they carried in their Hands; it is not only unlikely that so wary a General should have no Scouts or Parties in the Van of his Army, that could discover such a Stratagem; but it is further observable, that *Pictaviensis*, who then attended the Conqueror, makes no mention of it, from whence the Judicious conclude, there is very little Credit to be given to the Story.

By the taking of *Dover* and fortifying *Hastings*, the Conqueror having secur'd his Retreat, in case of any Misfortune, and establish'd a Communication with *Normandy*, from whence he was to receive his Supplies, he bent his March towards *London*, where he understood that *Edgar Atheling*, next Heir to the Crown of the *Saxon* Line, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with most of the Clergy and Nobility were assembled: The Duke approaching *London*, the Citizens made a Sally and attack'd his Troops, but were repuls'd; and the Suburbs on the South side
of

of the River burnt by the *Normans*; he did not think fit however, to besiege the City in Form, but marching Westward as far as *Wallingford* in *Berkshire*, he plunder'd and destroy'd the Country on every side. From *Wallingford* he mov'd to *Berkhamstead* in *Hertfordshire*, where the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, *Wulston*, Bishop of *Worcester*, with many others of the Ecclesiastical as well as Lay Nobility, and Prince *Edgar Ateling* at the Head of them, came in to him and made their Submission, whereupon the Duke took them into his Protection. In the mean Time, the Earls *Morebar* and *Edwin*, two of the most popular *English* Noblemen, retir'd into the *North*, where they had a great Interest, endeavouring to raise Forces and make Head against the *Normans*.

After the Submission of so many of the Clergy and Nobility, and the abandoning of *London* by the Lords *Edwin* and *Morebar* with their Adherents, the Duke thought fit to return with his Army towards the City; and while he was upon his March thither, the Magistrates met him, offering to surrender the Place, and both the Nobility and Citizens propos'd his accepting the Crown, which, 'tis said, the Duke took some Time to consider of; but the *Norman* Officers being no less importunate with him than the *English*, he was at length content to fill the vacant Throne: But why he should shew any Reluctance, when this was the avow'd Design of his Expedition, and he claim'd the Crown by the Donation of *Edward the Confessor*, our Historians who represent him to be so excessively Modest can best account for.

Will. I.
crown'd,
An. 1066

Still he was jealous of the Citizens of *London*, and before he would trust himself within their Walls, he thought fit to erect a Fortrefs there for his Security, after which he came thither, and was crown'd in the Abby-Church of *Westminster*, on *Christmas-Day*, Anno 1066, by *Aldred* Archbishop of *York*, *Stigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury* being deem'd disaffected to him, or according to some, disqualified, as not having been confirm'd in that See by the Pope. At this Solemnity, 'tis said, *Aldred* demanded both of the *English* and *Normans*, If they would have the Duke for their King? To which both assented, and the King took an Oath to protect the Church, and to govern the Kingdom by just Laws; some say, he engag'd to see the Confessor's Laws duely observ'd, while other Historians make no mention of any Oath that was taken. The Coronation was no sooner over, but the Duke (whom I shall from henceforth stile *King*) distributed the Money he found in the late King's Treasury, in such a manner as he conceiv'd might best establish him on the Throne; part of it among his Officers and Soldiers, by whose Assistance he had acquir'd it; another part among the *English* Monks and Ecclesiasticks, whose Influence on the Nation he was not a Stranger to; and a considerable Share he sent to the Pope, who had consecrated the Enterprize, and could best remove the Scruples of his new Subjects in relation to his Title; and among the Poor, 'tis said, he distributed his Alms very liberally. He order'd Justice also to be duely administred through the whole Kingdom, and kept his Army under an exact Discipline, by which popular Acts the
Nation

Nation in general were induc'd to submit to him, even *Edwin* and *Morchar*, with the rest of the Nobility who had shewn the greatest Backwardness in Recognizing him, came in Voluntarily and took the Oaths. And, in Memory of that decisive Battle near *Hastings*, which made him Master of the Kingdom, he built a noble Monastery, giving it the Name of *Battle-Abby*. As he had observ'd that *Edgar Atheling*, the Lineal Heir to the Crown, was a Gentleman of no great Ambition, he did not only leave him at liberty to dispose of himself as he saw fit, but conferr'd upon him large Possessions, that this Prince might not be induc'd by the Uneasiness of his Circumstances to give him any Disturbance; but as a Conqueror, he confiscated the Estates of all those who had appear'd in Arms against him at the Battle of *Hastings*, and gave them to his *Norman* Officers.

Having constituted his Brother *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, and his Cousin *William Fitz-Osbern*, Governors or Regents of the Kingdom, Garrison'd the principal Fortresses with *Norman* Troops, and fill'd all Posts of any Importance with Natives of that Dutchy; a little before *Easter*, 1067, he embark'd for *Normandy*, taking with him Prince *Edgar Atheling*, Archbishop *Stigand*, the Earls *Edwin*, *Morchar*, and *Waltheof*, and such of the Nobility as he apprehended capable of raising any Commotions in his Absence. He celebrated the Festival of *Easter* at the Abby of *Feshamp* in *Normandy*, where several of the *French* Princes and Nobility attended to congratulate his Success: Nothing could be more Splendid and Magnificent than the Appearance the King and Court

The
Con-
queror
returns
to Nor-
mandy.

Court made on this Occasion, the rich Habits, the Furniture and Plate expos'd to View, exceeded what was to be met with in any Court of *Europe*, great part of which were probably the Spoils of *Harold* and his Nobility who were defeated at the Battle of *Hastings*. Here King *William* past away the Summer and part of the following Winter, leaving his *English* Subjects in the mean time to be harass'd and oppress'd by his Viceroy, *Odo* and *Fitz-Osbern*, in a most barbarous manner, which occasion'd several Insurrections; but being all suppress'd by the superior Forces of the *Normans*, the Disaffected only gave their new Masters a fresh Pretence of seizing their Estates; and perhaps this was the Conqueror's principal Design in suffering his Viceroy, to provoke them and invade their Properties.

1067.

The King return'd to *England* in *December*, 1067, where he met with grievous Complaints, both from the Clergy and Laity, against the Administration of *Odo* and *Fitz-Osbern*, whereupon he gave the People good Words; but I don't perceive he troubled himself to redress their Wrongs: On the contrary, he reviv'd the antient odious Tax of *Danegelt*, which had been abolish'd by *Edward the Confessor*. *Aldred*, Archbishop of *York*, who had been one of the forwardest to advance him to the Throne on this Occasion, solemnly curs'd the King and all his Posterity. He was now too late convinc'd, that the *Normans* intended to reduce the *English* to a state of Slavery and Dependance, in which he was conscious he himself had been very instrumental. It is said, the King not thinking it proper yet to exasperate the Clergy too much, sent

sent to the Bishop to excuse his Conduct ; but that the old Man dy'd with Grief for the false Step he had made.

The King having caus'd his Queen *Maud* to be crown'd, she was soon after brought to Bed of her third Son, who was baptiz'd by the Name of *Henry*, afterwards King of *England*. The *English* observing at length that they were to be treated as a conquer'd People, several Insurrections happen'd in the Year 1068 : The City of *Exeter* particularly refus'd to admit a *Norman* Garrison, and stood upon their Defence ; but the King laying close Siege to the Town, they were oblig'd to capitulate, and surrender'd upon Condition of having their Lives and Goods sav'd. Here *Githa*, the Mother of King *Harold*, had retir'd ; but escap'd with many of the wealthiest Citizens into *Flanders* before the Surrender. The King, before he left *Exeter*, order'd a Citadel to be built to awe the Inhabitants, and keep the West in subjection. Another Insurrection happened the same Year in the North of *England*, the Malecontents being headed by those two popular Earls *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who were join'd by the *Welsh*. The King, however, had the good Fortune to disperse them without coming to a Battle, on his promising their Leaders a Pardon ; and to prevent future Commotions, he erected Castles at *Warwick*, *Nottingham*, *York*, *Lincoln*, *Huntington*, *Cambridge*, &c.

An Insurrection suppress'd in the North.

Notwithstanding which, Earl *Gospatrick*, with the *Northumbrian* Nobility, apprehending they should be depriv'd of their Liberties and Estates (as many others of the *English* Nobility at this time were under Pretence of

Dis-

Disaffection, and their Estates divided among the *Normans*) enter'd into a Confederacy, and drew over *Edgar Atheling* to their Party; but not being able to make Head against the Conqueror, they retir'd into *Scotland*, and were kindly receiv'd there by King *Malcolm*, who not long after married the Princess *Margaret*, eldest Sister to *Edgar*, from whom descended *Matilda*, Grandmother to *Henry II.* King of *England*, in whom the Royal Families of the *Normans* and *Saxons* were united.

From this time the King seems to look upon the *English* as his irreconcilable Enemies, and Act as if he had no other Title to the Kingdom but that of Conquest; for he not only confiscated the Estates of all the *English* almost, and transferr'd them to the *Normans*, but disarm'd them from one end of the Nation to the other, prohibiting them to stir from their Houses, or to have either Fire or Candle after Eight in the Evening, ordering a Bell to be rung at the Hour, which from thence obtain'd the Name of the *Curfeu*, or *Cover Fire-Bell*. In the mean time the Sons of the late King *Harold*, *Godwin*, *Edmund* and *Magnus*, being in *Ireland*, assembled some Forces, and made a Descent in *Somersetshire*, ravaging the Country on that Side; after which they retir'd to their Ships, while the *English* who were fled to the Woods and the inaccessible part of the Country perpetually plunder'd and harass'd the *Normans*, who had depriv'd them of their Estates, insomuch that many of them desir'd Leave to return to *Normandy*, that they might live in Peace rather than remain in Possessions they could not enjoy with any Security.

The

The following Year, 1069, the Malecon-^{1069.} tents, who had fled to *Denmark*, incited that An Inva-
King to equip a great Fleet and Army to sion of
endeavour the Recovery of the Kingdom of the
England, of which his Ancestors had been *Danes*
Sovereigns; and the *English*, who were in and
Scotland about the same time, prevail'd with *Scots*,
King *Malcolm* to make a Diversion on that
Side. The *Scots* accordingly march'd into
England as far as *Durham*, which City they
surpriz'd in the Night time, putting the
Norman Garrison to the Sword, consisting
of 700 Men, together with *Robert Cummin*
their Governor. At the same instant arriv'd
a Fleet of *Danes*, in the *Humber* consisting
of 240 Sail, with Land Forces on board,
commanded by *Osbern*, (Brother to *Swain*
King of *Denmark*) with his Sons *Harold* and
Canute. The *Danes*, having join'd the *Scots*
and disaffected *English*, march'd towards *York*,
whereupon the *Norman* Garrison retir'd into
the Castle, and setting some Houses in the
Town on Fire, in which they apprehended the
Enemy might lodge, themselves, the whole
Town, together with the Cathedral, was un-
fortunately burnt down. The *Danes* and
Scots afterwards laid Siege to the Castle, and
having taken it by Storm, put most of the
Garrison to the Sword, consisting of three
thousand Men.

The King was in some Consternation on
receiving Advice of the Progress the *Danes*
and *Scots* had made, apprehending a general
Revolt of his *English* Subjects. He sent the
Queen therefore back to *Normandy* till he
could see what Turn things would take. He
promised the *English* to govern them by their
ancient Laws, recall'd some of the Nobility

The
North
destroy'd
for 60
Miles to-
gether.

from Banishment, and restor'd to others their Liberties and Estates: But what was of the greatest Advantage to him was, the corrupting the *Danish* General, who was induc'd by the large Presents he made him to desert the *English* and *Scots* and return home, whereupon the Conqueror laid Siege to the City of *York*, defended by a Garrison of *English* and *Scotch*. Earl *Waltheof*, the Governor, made a brave Defence; but having no Hopes of Relief since the *Danes* were march'd off, and the *Scots* retir'd into their own Country, he was oblig'd to capitulate, and obtain'd honourable Terms. The King was so pleas'd with the many Instances of *Waltheof's* Bravery during the Siege, that he gave him the Earldoms of *Northampton* and *Huntington*, and his Niece *Judith* Countess of *Albemarle* in Marriage. He pardon'd also Earl *Gospatrick*, and took him into his Favour; but us'd great Severity towards the rest of the Garrison as well as the Citizens (which would incline one to believe he violated the Articles of surrender.) After the taking of *York* he march'd towards *Durham*, destroying all the Country as he went with Fire and Sword for sixty Miles together, insomuch that 'tis said, there was not one House left standing between those two Cities, and the Fields lay uncultivated for nine or ten Years after, which produc'd a terrible Famine in that part of *England*. The King, it seems, had sworn, when he heard of the Insurrection in *Northumberland*, (by the Brightness of God, his usual Oath) that he would not leave a Soul alive in the Northern Counties, and he was very near fulfilling it to a Tittle.

The

The King having now entirely subdu'd those who were disaffected to his Government, banish'd some and imprison'd others, dispossest the *English* of all their Manors, Lands, Estates and Honours, and depriv'd even the Bishops and other Ecclesiasticks of their Preferments, conferring them on his *Normans* and other Foreigners: He oblig'd the Ecclesiasticks and Religious Houses to become subject to the same Military Tenures as the Laity were: Quarter'd Soldiers on the Monasteries, seiz'd the Plate he found there, under pretence it belong'd to such as had been in Rebellion against him; but he was so Wise as not to proceed against the Clergy without the Leave and Authority of the Pope, whom he always gain'd over to his side by the Presents he made the Holy See out of the Spoils of the *English*.

Two Legates were sent from *Rome* with Orders to follow the King's Directions, who assembling a Council at *Winchester*, *Stigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was degraded, as were the Bishops of *Durham* and the *East Angles*, whom the King esteem'd disaffected to him. *Lanfranc*, an Italian Abbot of *Caen* in *Normandy*, was made Archbishop of *Canterbury*: *Thomas*, a Canon of *Bayeux*, prefer'd to the See of *York*: Three of the Conqueror's Chaplains were promoted to the Bishopricks of *Winchester*, *Helmam*, and *Selsey*: and several *English* Abbots were Evicted to make room for *Normans*.

To his own Relations, it is observ'd, he was exceeding bountiful: To *Robert*, his Brother-in-Law by the Mother's Side, he gave the Earldom of *Cornwal*, in which he had 288 Manors, besides 588 which he held in other

1070.

The *English* Clergy depriv'd of their Preferments.

The Conqueror's Bounty to the *Normans*.

other Counties: *Odo*, Bishop of *Bayeux*, his other Brother, he made Earl of *Kent*, and Chief Justiciary of *England*, conferring on him 184 Manors in *Kent*, and 255 in other Counties: And to *William Fitz-Osbern*, Sewer of *Normandy*, he gave the *Isle of Wight* and Earldom of *Hereford*; which shews he was far from disapproving the ill Usage with which the two last treated the *English* in the first Year of his Reign. It seems evident to me, that he retir'd into *Normandy* on purpose to give these Viceroy's an Opportunity of oppressing the *English*, by which means he hop'd they wou'd be provok'd to discover some uneasiness, and he should have a Pretence to seize their Estates: But to return,

A General Insurrection, to appease which the King swears to observe the Saxon Laws.

He breaks his Oath.

The *English* finding themselves reduc'd to a State of Slavery, unanimously resolv'd to make one vigorous Push for their Liberties. *Frederick*, Abbot of *St. Albans*, laid the Scheme for a general Insurrection. *Edgar Atheling* was sent for out of *Scotland* and acknowledged their King; and so suddenly were the Troops assembled from all Parts, that King *William* was surpriz'd, and entirely unprovided of Forces to oppose them. In this Distress he desir'd a Conference with their Leaders at *Berkhamsted*, where, having heard their Grievances, he promis'd to redress them, and swore upon the Gospels he wou'd re-establish the antient *Saxon* Laws, whereupon the Malecontents dismiss'd their Troops. They had no sooner laid down their Arms, but on some Pretence or other he put several of them to Death, and imprison'd others: *Edgar Atheling*, with several of the *English* Nobility, however escap'd to *Scotland*, and others became Refugees in *Denmark* and *Ireland*: The

Abbot

Abbot of St. *Albans* retir'd to the *Isle of Ely*, where he died soon after, and the King seiz'd on the Monastery.

The next Year, 1071, another Body of *English* fortified the *Isle of Ely*, and stood upon their Defence; the Abbot of *Ely* was in the Conspiracy, the Earls *Edwin* and *Morebar*, with the Bishops of *Durham* and *Hereford* also were of the Number, and *Everard*, Nephew to the Bishop of *Peterburgh*, one of the greatest Soldiers of those Days, was pitch'd upon for their General; but Earl *Edwin* being murder'd by some of his own Retinue as he was going to *Scotland* to concert Measures with the Malecontents there, the rest of them, after a very brave Defence, were betray'd by the Monks of *Ely*, upon the King's promising to restore them their Lands and Revenues. The General *Everard* however had the good Fortune to make his Way thro' the King's Troops with a small Party of resolute Men, and retreated to *Scotland*.

The Prisoners who were taken in the Island were order'd, some of them to have their Eyes put out, others to have their Hands cut off, and many more of them imprison'd; among the last were the Earls *Morebar* and *Egdrick*; and the Bishop of *Durham*.

During this Insurrection the King of *Scotland* had enter'd *England*, and made a Diversion on that Side; but King *William* carrying the War into his own Country, a Peace was concluded between them, wherein the Limits of the two Kingdoms were settled, a general Pardon was agreed on, and *Malcolm* did Homage to King *William*; in Memory of which Treaty a Cross was erected on the Limits

1071.

1072

Limits of the two Kingdoms, being then the middle of the Mountains of *Stanemore* in *Richmondshire*, whereon the Arms of both Kings were engrav'd, of which there was some Remains when *Camden* wrote. About this time the Jurisdiction of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* over the See of *York* was establish'd by a Synod assembled by the Pope's Direction.

1073.

The following Year the *French* King having invaded *Normandy*, King *William* embark'd with a great Army of *Normans* and *English* for that Dutchy, and retook all the Places the *French* had made themselves Masters of. Hither *Edgar Atheling* came over to him from *Scotland*, and was again receiv'd into Favour, and allow'd a Pound of Silver *per Diem* for his Subsistence.

1074-
An In-
surrec-
tion encour-
ag'd by
the *Norman* No-
bility.

Still the *English* were uneasy under the Tyranny of their new Masters, and form'd a fresh Conspiracy against King *William*, being encourag'd in it by some of the *Norman* Nobility, particularly *Ralph de Waker* Earl of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, who had married *Emma* the Daughter of *Roger* Earl of *Hereford*, the King's Cousin, notwithstanding his Majesty had forbidden it: On the Wedding-Day, when the Company were heated with Wine, the intended Insurrection was concerted by the Barons that were present; the Earl of *Hereford*, the Bride's Father, and *Waltheof* Earl of *Northumberland* engag'd to promote it with all their Power: But *Waltheof* the next Morning, considering what he had done, went to *Lamfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and discover'd the Plot, by whose Advice the Earl embark'd for *Normandy*, in order to throw himself at the King's Feet, and obtain

a Pardon, which, 'tis said, his Majesty promised him: In the mean time the rest of the Conspirators fortified their Castles, and assembled their Friends; but the King returning to *England*, they were entirely defeated, some of the Chiefs had fled beyond Sea before his Arrival, and upon the rest, whom he found in Arms, or had been taken Prisoners, he executed great Severities, cutting off their Hands, putting out their Eyes, or imprisoning them; and as to *Waltbeof*, who discover'd the Conspiracy, he order'd his Head to be struck off at *Winchester*, notwithstanding the promis'd Pardon. This seems to have been the only *English* Nobleman that held any Lands immediately of the Crown at that time; and, 'tis said, his great Possessions (being Earl of *Northumberland*, *Huntington* and *Northampton*) were the principal Occasion of his Fall. From henceforward our Historians observe, there was not one *Englishman* who was Earl, Bishop, or Abbot in the Kingdom; Foreigners possess'd all the Estates, Honours, and Preferments, and if the Natives enjoy'd any thing it was under the *Normans*, and upon such Terms as their Lords thought fit to suffer them. And after this I presume no Man will scruple to call *England* a conquer'd Country, or the *Norman* Duke a Conqueror, whatever they might think of the Matter before.

The Year 1076 was remarkable only for a Synod held at *St. Paul's* in *London*, where several Bishops Sees were remov'd from lesser Towns to greater, (*viz.*) That of *Selfey* to *Chichester*; that of *Wells* to *Bath*; that of *Sbirburn* to *Salisbury*, *Dorchester* to *Lincoln*; that of *Litchfield* to *Chester*; and that of *Elmham* to *Thetford*, and afterwards to *Norwich*.

1076.

While

1077.

While the King remain'd in *England*, *Robert* his eldest Son rais'd an Insurrection in *Normandy*, being encourag'd in it by his Mother *Matilda*, and assisted underhand by *Philip* the French King, who began to grow jealous of *William's* Power; nor did *Robert* want plausible Pretences for seizing the Duchy of *Normandy*, for it seems his Father had promis'd to make him Duke of *Normandy* when he should have establish'd himself in *England*: The *Normans* also were very desirous of having a Prince that would reside amongst them, and therefore generally espous'd *Robert's* Interest. The King, upon the News of this Revolt, levied an Army, consisting chiefly of *English*, not daring to rely on the *Normans* in this Quarrel, and with these embark'd for *Normandy*. Several smart Engagements happen'd between the Father and Son, in one of which *Robert*, not knowing his Father, wounded him in the Arm, and dismounted him; but discovering who he was, threw himself at his Father's Feet, begg'd his Pardon, and remounted him on his own Horse. This Accident was succeeded by a Treaty of Peace, but the King was so jealous of his Son, that he thought fit to take him with him to *England*, on pretence of making him General against the *Scots*: Accordingly Prince *Robert* march'd at the Head of an Army towards the North the following Year; but a Peace was concluded before any considerable Action happen'd. In his Return from this Expedition he founded the Town of *Newcastle upon Tyne*; and about the same Time his Father built the Tower of *London*, and several other Fortresses, being pretty well satisfy'd he cou'd not depend on the Affections

sections of his *English* Subjects under so tyrannical an Administration.

The *Welch* Princes having made some Incursions into the *English Pale*, the Army was order'd to march that Way, whereupon they thought fit to submit, and pay an Annual Tribute to the Crown of *England*. And now King *William* reigning in Peace, he order'd a Survey to be made of all the Lands in *England*, by Commissioners consisting of Earls, Bishops, and other Great Men, who by the Verdict or Presentment of Juries sworn in every County, Hundred, and Wapentake, ascertain'd the Number of Acres in the Possession of every Subject, whether Arable, Meadow, Pasture, or Wood Grounds; their respective Values; what Freemen, Sockmen, Villains, Servants, and Cattle; and what Stock on every Mannor and Estate in the Kingdom; and these Particulars were enter'd in two Books, the one call'd *Great*, and the other *Little Doomsday-Book*, still remaining in the *Exchequer*: The *Little Doomsday-Book* contains only the Counties of *Norfolk*, *Sussex*, and *Essex*; and the other the residue, except *Wales*, and the Counties of *Westmoreland*, *Cumberland*, and *Northumberland*, which I presume were not then under the Dominion of the Conqueror, but of the King of *Scotland*. This Survey being taken with great Exactness, was not finish'd under six or seven Years; by it the Revenues of the Crown were known and settled, which seems to have been the principal Design in making of it. They consisted of several Branches, viz. The Crown Lands containing one thousand four hundred and twenty-two Mannors, besides several Farms in *Middlesex*, *Shropshire*, &c.

Shropshire, and Rutlandshire: Of Escheats and Forfeitures to the Crown for want of Heirs, or in Cases of Treason and Felony, of Rents and Services reserv'd on the several Baronies, Knights Fees, &c. that held of the Crown, of a kind of Land-Tax, call'd *Hidage*, whereby every Hide of Land was obliged to pay annually a certain Sum to the Crown, another considerable Profit arose from Wardships and Marriage of the Heirs of such Tenants as held immediately of the Crown, with other Perquisites, which according to *Vitalis*, amounted Annually to four hundred thousand Pounds, *per Ann.* esteem'd equal to five millions of our Money at this Day, Silver being then above twelve times the Value it is now; and notwithstanding the Revenues of the Crown were so very large, the King's Armies were rais'd and maintain'd by the Barons, and other Vassals that held their Lands of him, every one furnishing a certain Number of Horse and Foot, according to the Mannors and Lands he possess'd, while others were oblig'd by their Tenures to defend his Castles and Fortresses. The Horse alone of which these Armies consisted, usually amounted to sixty thousand, according to the Historians of those Times.

The Laws altered. Being possess'd of such Revenues and Forces, and Reigning in Peace, he ventur'd to alter the Laws of the Kingdom, abolishing many *Saxon* Customs, and introducing those of *Normandy*; he order'd also that all Process and Pleadings should be in the *Norman* Language; and Conveyances of Lands, which were sometimes made by Parol only in the Time of the *Saxons*, were now, 'tis said, first order'd to be Sign'd and Seal'd, and Attested

tested by Witnesses. By this Prince also were first Instituted the Courts of *Chancery* and *Exchequer*; the four Terms, and the Annual Circuits of the Judges; and he first abolish'd the Civil Power of Bishops, who in the Times of the *Saxons* us'd to Sit with the Earl or Viscount in the County-Court, and shar'd the Fines incurr'd with the Crown; and as before the respective Hundreds were answerable for all Felons and Murderers, in case they were not apprehended and brought to Justice, this Law, 'tis said, was strictly put in Execution where a *Norman* was kill'd or robb'd, but not in other Cases; the Reason of which is said to be, that the *Normans* who had got Possession of the Estates of the *English*, were frequently plunder'd and murder'd by the former Possessors, who had been driven into the Woods and Mountains by those Foreigners, and depriv'd of all they had; and (as in the Time of the *Saxons*) Murders, Robberies, Adulteries, and other notorious Crimes, were punish'd by Fines and Imprisonments, Mutilation of Members, and keeping the Offenders to hard Labour, the same were still continued; Capital Punishments being very rare in these Times, either for Treason or Felony.

He extended his Forests over the Lands Grievan- and Possessions of his Subjects wherever he ces by pleas'd, particularly in *Hampshire*, where he enlarging destroy'd thirty-six Churches and Parishes to the Fo- enlarge the Forest of *Nene*, now call'd *New Forest*, and made it as Penal to kill Deer or rests. other Game in them, as to kill a Man; who- ever offended in this Particular, was condemn'd to lose his Eyes or Hands, to suffer Castration, or some other cruel Punishment.

He erected Schools, and us'd all imaginable Arts to render the *Norman* Language universal, but could never effect it: on the contrary, the *Normans* in this very Reign generally spoke the *English* Tongue, and we find it was only us'd in Law-Books and Pleadings in the Courts of Justice. It was a bastard *French*, not well understood by any other Province of that Nation then, and less at this Day.

Notwithstanding the great Justice and Equity this Prince is cry'd up for by some Writers, we find him ever partial to the *Normans*; where there was a Contest between a *Norman* and an *Englishman*, the King, as well as his Judges, generally gave it in favour of the *Norman*, without any regard to the Right of the Matter; tho' indeed the *English* were left Possessors of so very little, that I can't conceive how there could often arise Contests between them. Nor did he always act with the strictest Justice towards his Countrymen the *Normans*; when the Dispute was between the Crown and the Subject: nay, it does not appear that ever he suffer'd the *Normans* to dispute his Pleasure in the Courts of Law, but acted as Arbitrarily towards them upon some Occasions, as towards the *English*; of which his Brother *Odo*, Earl of *Kent* and Bishop of *Bayeux*, was an Instance. He had suffer'd this Gentleman to plunder and oppress his unhappy *English* Subjects for fourteen or fifteen Years, till he had heap'd up an immense Estate, and then seiz'd all his Wealth to his own Use, under Pretence he was going to *Rome* to purchase the Papacy: *Odo* was arrested by the King's Officers in the *Isle of Wight*, as he was about to leave the Kingdom,

Kingdom, but possibly the Reason of his attempting to go beyond Sea, was the covetous and arbitrary Disposition of the King, whom he had observ'd more than once confiscate the Treasures of his great Officers upon frivolous Pretences. And it appears that the Tyranny of his Administration had render'd him so Odious both to his *Norman* and *English* Subjects, that the *Danes* threatening him with an Invasion, he introduc'd an Army of Foreigners for his Defence, and laid a Tax of six Shillings on every Hide (hundred Acres) of Land, to defray the Expence of maintaining them, which was three times as much as was ever laid upon Land before. Could he have depended on his Subjects, this Expence might have been entirely sav'd, for their Military Tenures oblig'd them to form an Army abundantly sufficient to resist any foreign Invasion: But possibly he made the *Danish* Invasion only a Pretence to fill his Coffers, a Stratagem which many of his Successors have imitated him in.

I meet with nothing Remarkable in the remainder of this Reign, till the Year 1087, unless it be the Death of *Matilda* the Queen, who died *Anno* 1084, in *Normandy*, and *Edgar Atheling's* Expedition to the *Holy Land* the following Year with a Retinue of two hundred *English* Knights, where he behav'd very gallantly. In the Year 1087, *England* suffer'd pretty much by Famine and a malignant Fever, which carried off great Numbers of People. The City of *London*, with the Cathedral of *St. Paul's*, was destroy'd also by Fire, as were several other great Towns in *England*: Notwithstanding which the King embark'd for *France*, with a great Army,

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Army, in order to invade the *French King's* Territories, on Pretence of some Insults receiv'd, but a Truce was agreed on between the two Kings before they enter'd upon Action, and broken soon after on a very frivolous Pretence, if the Historians of those Times have not led us into a Mistake.

They tell us, that King *William* being grown very corpulent and under a Course of Physick at *Rouen*, the *French King* said jestingly of him, *Our Brother of England is gone to lay his great Belly at Rouen, and I doubt I must be at the Charge of setting up Lights at his Uprising*, (alluding to the Women's Custom of offering lighted Candles on their first going abroad after Lying-in.) Which being told to the King of *England*, 'tis said he swore, *He would save him the Charge of setting up Lights, for he would kindle a thousand Fires in France when he came abroad*.

**Terrible
Ravages
commit-
ted by
the Con-
queror in
France.**

Accordingly he enter'd the *French King's* Territories the *August* following, with a powerful Army, destroying all the Country before him with Fire and Sword, (and which made it the more dreadful, this happen'd just before their Harvest and Vintage) nor was he content with destroying the Fruits of the Earth, but burnt down several Towns, particularly the City of *Mants*, commanding the Fire to be continued till all the Houses and Churches shou'd be demolish'd, and assisting himself at the Destruction of the Place, he came so near as to be scorch'd with the Flames: This, with a Bruise he got on his Belly, by the Pummel of his Saddle in leaping his Horse over a Ditch, occasion'd a Fit of Illness that prov'd fatal to him.

As

As he lay on his Death-Bed, 'tis said, he began to reflect on the Ravages and Diffolations he had occasion'd both in *France* and *England*, particularly in the last Expedition against *France*, and order'd great Sums to be issu'd for re-building the Churches at *Mants*, and the neighbouring Country, by way of Attonement for his Transgressions; he commanded also the State Prisoners to be set at Liberty, among whom were the Earls *Morchar*, *Roger Syward*, and *Wulnuth*, (the last of whom was Brother to his Predecessor King *Harold*, and had been detain'd in Prison from his Infancy) *Odo* Earl of *Kent*, his half Brother, also was releas'd from his Imprisonment. An Historian of that Time relates, that the Conqueror bewail'd with infinite Sorrow, the numberless Devastations he had committed both in *France* and *England*, the Cruelties he had exercis'd on innocent People, and the Blood he had shed either through Revenge or Ambition; but then on the other Hand, he enumerated the many Deeds of Charity and Benificence he had done, which he hop'd, no doubt, wou'd in some Measure compensate for his Tyranny and Oppression. And thus having consider'd his Condition as to the next World, he proceeded to dispose of his temporal Estate to his three Sons; to *Robert*, the Eldest, he gave the Dutchy of *Normandy*; but as to *England*, which he obtain'd by such a Complication of Crimes, he said he must leave it to God alone, tho' he desir'd that *William* his second Son, who had express'd the most Duty and Affection for him, might enjoy that Kingdom. To *Henry* his third Son, he gave only five thousand Marks, without any Lands of Inheritance,

His Reflections
on his
Death-
Bed.

heritance, which that Prince complain'd of, demanding where he must secure the Treasure bequeath'd to him, since he was to possess no one Territory or Fortrefs. The King answer'd, 'tis said, in a propheticall Manner, *That he would one Day enjoy all his Dominions, and exceed both his Brothers in Wealth and Glory.* Then the King wrote a Letter to *Lanfrance*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to favour his Son *William's* Pretensions to the Crown of *England*, and order'd that Prince to go over with it immediately, in order to secure his Possession: After which his Majesty caus'd himself to be remov'd to the Village of *Hermuntrade*, over-against *Rouen*, where he expir'd soon after with great Marks of Devotion, on *Thursday* the ninth Day of *September*, *A. D. 1087*, in the sixty-first Year of his Age, having govern'd *England* twenty Years, ten Months, and twenty-six Days, reckoning from the Battle of *Hastings*; and the Dutchy of *Normandy*, one and fifty Years, and some odd Months. His Servants and Officers, 'tis said, deserted him the very Moment they perceiv'd he was dead, probably to go and make their Court to his Sons, *Robert* and *William*, who were at a Distance, the one in *Germany*, and the other in *England*. He was buried privately by his Son *Henry*, at *Caen* in *Normandy*, in the Abby-Church of *St. Steven's*, being of his own Foundation, but the Site of the Church being claim'd by a private Gentleman, as his Property, to prevent any Disturbance, 'tis said, a Sum of Money was paid down, before the Corps was suffer'd to be Interr'd; whereupon our Historians generally make this Reflection, That he who was Sovereign of such extensive Dominions,

Death of
Will. I.
1087.

minions, and had so many thousand Subjects, had not one Friend left to attend him in his last Moments, or a Burying-Place where his Corps might lye unmolested. But as the Church he was buried in belong'd to an Abby of *Benedictine* Monks, who had long been in possession of it, it is hardly credible that it should be in the Power of any private Gentleman to disturb the Funeral. It can't be suppos'd any Force was us'd on this Occasion, and if any Person had had a legal Claim to the Site of the Church or Monastery, this must have been referr'd to a legal Trial, and could not have been determin'd at that Instant.

As to the Character of this Prince, he His Character does not seem to deserve all those Encomiums some of our Historians bestow on him; it is allow'd that he was a great Soldier, and understood the Art of War, but I can discern little more in him that deserves an Applause; he had no sooner gain'd the Victory of *Hastings*, and the whole Kingdom had submitted to him, but he abandon'd his new Subjects in the first Year of his Reign, to the Tyranny and Oppressions of his Viceroy, *Odo* and *Fitz-Osborn*, and instead of redressing their Grievances, or punishing the Authors of them, on his Return from *Normandy* he took an Opportunity of seizing the Estates of the *English*, under Pretence of Disaffection, giving them to his *Normans*; from whence we may naturally infer, that he approv'd the Conduct of his Ministers, and was glad of some Colour to treat the *English* as Rebels. In the mean Time, his Behaviour to his *Norman* Officers was not unlike that of the Grand Signior's to their

Bassa's at this Day, who encourages their Depredations on his Subjects, with no other View than that of seizing their ill-gotten Spoils, and replenishing his own Coffers. It is impossible to excuse the Avarice and unmerciful Temper of this Prince, if we reflect on his destroying all the North of *England* for sixty Miles together; his demolishing near forty Towns and Churches to enlarge one Forest; the severe Penalties inflicted on every one that meddled with his Game, and the Burnings and Ravages he committed in *France* the last Year of his Life.

In the Conquests made by the *Romans*, either in *Gaul* or *Britain*, we do not find them torturing the Natives, and driving them from their Estates and Habitations, but endeavouring to win them by kind Usage, and employing them in the highest Posts. This Prince on the contrary, knew no other way to establish his Dominion than by terrible Examples of Cruelty, dismembering some, putting out the Eyes of others; robbing his Subjects of all that they had, and giving their Possessions to Strangers, which was such an accursed Policy, as one would think no *Christian* Writer could ever have applauded; and yet this Prince does not want his Admirers, nay, he is recommended as an Example of Wisdom and Goodness to succeeding Ages, tho' perhaps there is no Instance in History of a People's being reduc'd to a State of more exquisite Misery, than the *English* were under his Dominion.

His Person.

As to his Person, he is said to be low of Stature but well set, of a masculine Beauty, a vigorous and healthful Constitution, and so Strong, that few of his Officers cou'd draw

draw his Bow. It appears, he affected a His Ge-
 great deal of Pomp and Ostentation, not-
 withstanding he is charg'd with insatiable A-
 varice. At the Grand Festivals of *Christ-*
mas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, his Court ap-
 pear'd in the utmost Splendour. The first
 of these Festivals was kept at *Gloucester,* the
 second at *Winchester,* and the third at *West-*
minster; and at these he oblig'd all the Gran-
 dees of the Kingdom, as well Clergy as Lai-
 ty, to attend. Some have commended him
 for his Piety, I presume from the Deference
 he paid the Pope and Clergy in the Be-
 ginning of his Reign, while they were neces-
 sary to his Establishment; but his demolish-
 ing Churches, and rising the Monasteries of
 their Plate and sacred Utensils, seem to bear
 hard on this Part of his Character: And I
 can never agree with that Reverend Writer
 who suggests, 'That the *English* might have
 'been happy under his Government, if
 'it had not been their own Faults;' when it
 is evident that they were not only excluded
 from all Posts and Preferments, as well Ec-
 clestiafical as Civil, but depriv'd of their
 Estates and Honours to a Man, and render'd
 Slaves to the *Norman* Officers.

In these Circumstances surely they could
 enjoy no great Share of Happiness, and to
 these they were reduc'd even in the Beginning
 of this Reign, many of them before they had
 given him any other Provocation than by
 shewing their Uneasiness at his breaking
 through their antient Laws and Customs,
 which he had promis'd to observe inviolably
 at his Accession.

This King had Issue by *Maud* his Wife, His Issue,
 Daughter of *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders,*

1087.  1. *Robert*, his eldest Son, to whom he gave the Dukedom of *Normandy*. 2. *Richard*, his second Son, who was kill'd in *New Forest*. 3. *William*, commonly call'd *Rufus*, who succeeded him in the Kingdom of *England*. 4. *Henry*, who succeeded his Brother *William*. 5. *Cicely*, his eldest Daughter, who died a Nun. 6. *Constance*, married to *Alan* Earl of *Britain*. 7. *Alice*, contracted to King *Harold*, but died unmarried. 8. *Adela*, married to *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*, by whom she had *Stephen*, afterwards King of *England*. 9. *Agatha*, who died unmarried. And he had one base Son, viz. *William Peverel* Earl of *Nottingham*.

Arms of
England.

His Arms for *England* were, three Lyons passant, Or, in a Field Gules. The Flowers de Lys were not added till the Reign of *Edward III.* on his claiming the Kingdom of *France*.

CHAP. XII.

The Reign of WILLIAM II.

PRINCE *William*, the Conqueror's second Son, was in *England* at the Time of his Father's Death, where he employ'd his Time so well, that he gain'd the Friendship of the most popular Noblemen in the Kingdom, among whom *Endo* the Treasurer, and Archbishop *Lanfranc*, to whom the late King had recommended his Interests, did him singular Service. *Endo* had not only secur'd the City of *Winchester*, with the Fortresses of *Dover*, *Pevensey*, *Hastings*, and other Sea-ports on the Southern Coasts, but put the late King's Treasure into his Hands, amounting

The first son, to whom he gave
 the name of Richard, was born
 on the 1st of May 1485, at
 the castle of Beaune, in the
 duchy of Burgundy, which was
 then a part of the kingdom of
 France. He was educated in the
 university of Paris, and was
 afterwards made a knight of the
 order of the Golden Fleece.
 He was married to Anne of
 Brittany, daughter of the Duke
 of Brittany, and sister of the
 Duke of Brittany, who was
 killed at the battle of Agincourt.
 He was crowned king of France
 on the 1st of May 1493, at
 the city of Bourges. He was
 a very brave and valiant prince,
 and was much beloved by his
 subjects. He died on the 31st
 of March 1513, at the city of
 Bourges.



The second son, to whom he gave
 the name of John, was born
 on the 1st of May 1485, at
 the castle of Beaune, in the
 duchy of Burgundy, which was
 then a part of the kingdom of
 France. He was educated in the
 university of Paris, and was
 afterwards made a knight of the
 order of the Golden Fleece.
 He was married to Anne of
 Brittany, daughter of the Duke
 of Brittany, and sister of the
 Duke of Brittany, who was
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 subjects. He died on the 31st
 of March 1513, at the city of
 Bourges.



K. WILLIAM . II.

amounting to sixty thousand Pounds and upwards: While the Archbishop brought most of the Clergy to espouse this Prince's Cause, upon his promising to defend the Liberties of the Church, and administer Justice to the People; whereupon he was Crown'd without Opposition at *Westminster*, on the 27th Day *Will. II.* of *September*, 1087, by Archbishop *Lan-* Crown'd. *franc*, in the Presence of the Archbishop of *York*, and many others of the Spiritual and Temporal Nobility.

William II. usually still'd *William Rufus* from his red Hair, was about thirty Years of Age at his Accession; the People had great Expectations of a happy Reign, from some popular Acts in the beginning of it, which are ascribed by the Writers of those Times to the prudent Councils of Archbishop *Lan-franc*; but the King could not long conceal his rough haughty Temper, 'tis said, which gave a general Disgust, and this was heightened and improved by the Artifices of his Uncle *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, who could not bear to see the Influence Archbishop *Lan-franc* had in his Majesty's Councils, and all Affairs of State. *Odo* drew over to his Party his Brother *Robert* Earl of *Hereford*, with many others of the Nobility, who agreed to acknowledge *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, *Robert* eldest Son of the late King, for their Sovereign, to whom they asserted the Crown of *Normandy* ought to descend, and sent him an invited over, Invitation to come and take Possession of the Kingdom, which they suggested would be no difficult Matter, considering the Affection both of the *Normans* and *English* to his Person, and the powerful Assistance that would be given him by the confederated Nobility, who

1088.



who were ready to rise in Arms in Defence of his Title.

The Duke soon determin'd to accept the Invitation that was given him; but the want of Money seem'd an insuperable Obstacle; for this Prince is represented as a very bad Economist, and delighting in all manner of expensive Pleasures and Entertainments, inso-much that his Treasury was ever exhausted: To supply the present Exigency therefore he mortgag'd the *Cotantin*, a Province of *Normandy*, to his younger Brother Prince *Henry*, and thereupon sent an Express to *Odo*, acquainting him that the Conspirators might expect his Landing in the West of *England*, with a Body of Troops, in a short time. Whether Duke *Robert* was not ready for the Expedition at the time prefix'd, or the Design had taken Air, is uncertain; but we find the Conspirators had recourse to Arms before any Troops were embark'd in *Normandy* to support them: *Roger Bigot* assembled his Friends in *Norfolk*, and *Hugh Grantmenil* did the same in *Leicestershire*, making themselves Masters of several Fortresses which they held for the Duke; *Robert de Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Geoffery* Bishop of *Constance*, appear'd at the Head of the Disaffected in *Wiltshire*, and possess'd themselves of *Bath* and *Bristol*, while *Roger Montgomery*, *William*, Bishop of *Durham*, *Roger Lacy*, *Ralph Mortimer*, and other *Norman* Lords, drew together the *Welsh*, and wasted the County of *Worcester* with Fire and Sword; but the most formidable Insurrection was in the County of *Kent*, where the Disaffected were commanded by Bishop *Odo* their Earl; against whom therefore the King march'd in Person, ordering

ing his Fleet at the same time into the *English* Channel to prevent a Descent from *Normandy*. *Odo* not being able to keep the Field against the King, threw his Forces into the fortify'd Towns, determining to wait for the promis'd Succours from *Normandy*; but these being intercepted by the *English* Fleet, or cast away in a Storm, the Bishop was so closely besieg'd in *Rocheſter*, that he was oblig'd to retire into the Castle, where many of the Garrison daily perishing by Sickneſs or Famine; he offer'd to capitulate, but could obtain no better Terms for himself and the Garrison than to march out with their Horſes and Arms, whereupon the Bishop and his Accomplices embark'd for *Normandy*, and all their Eſtates in *England* were confiscated. Upon this Succeſs the Diſaffected in other parts of *England* laid down their Arms, and obtain'd Pardon; and thus in a few Months a Period was put to theſe intestine Commotions, which would probably have prov'd fatal to the reigning Prince, if the Conſpirators had been timely ſupported from *Normandy*, or his *English* Subjects had not been unanimous in his Defence, on his promiſing to govern them by their Old Laws, to eaſe them of their Taxes, and even to indulge them the Liberty of Hunting in his Foreſts. But the Danger was no ſooner remov'd than the King began to act in an arbitrary manner, without any regard to the Laws; for which, 'tis ſaid, being reprehended by Archbiſhop *Lanfranc*, he answer'd in a Paſſion, *Who can perform all that he has promis'd*; and the Archbiſhop dying ſoon after, he threw off all Reſtraint, making his own Will the ſole Rule of his Actions. He appear'd, ſay the Writers of thoſe

1088.

The
Conſpi-
rators
ſurren-
der.

1089.

1089.



The
King
seizes
the va-
cant Bi-
shop-
ricks.

those Times, to be exceeding Covetous, and yet very Profuse, lavishly squandering away the Treasure he acquir'd by Extortion and Oppression; and what most disgusted the Clergy was, his seizing upon the Revenues of all vacant Benefices and Abbies, those of the See of *Canterbury* particularly, which See he kept vacant for near four Years, applying the Temporalties to his own Use; and tho' Complaint was made of it to Pope *Urban II.* his Holiness chose rather to wink at it than break with the King at this Juncture, when he was engag'd in Designs of much greater Consequence.

1090.

And now King *William*, inspir'd either by Ambition or Revenge, having form'd a Design of conquering *Normandy*, made a Descent on that Coast, and surpriz'd the Castles of *St. Valery* and *Albemarle*; whereupon Duke *Robert* enter'd into an Alliance with *Phillip* the *French* King for their mutual Defence, and *Phillip* march'd to his Assistance in Person, but was soon after bought off by the King of *England*, and abandon'd the Duke's Cause. King *William* purchas'd in the same manner the Governors of the principal Towns, inasmuch that it was apprehended all *Normandy* wou'd have been lost in an Instant. The Duke thereupon reconcil'd himself to his Brother Prince *Henry*, with whom he had been at Variance about some Towns in the *Cotantin*, and the two Brothers uniting their Forces, put a Stop to the Progress of the King of *England's* Arms. *Rouen*, the capital City, however, was upon the Point of being deliver'd up to King *William* by some of the Citizens whom the King had brib'd, if Prince *Henry* had not thrown himself into the Town at that Instant,

with

with a Body of Troops, and defeated the Rebels with a very great Slaughter. In this Engagement *Conon*, the principal Conspirator, was taken Prisoner, and thrown from the top of a Tower by Prince *Henry* himself, which put an End to the Insurrection. 1090. 

The following Year a Treaty of Peace was concluded between the King of *England* and Duke *Robert*, whereby 'twas stipulated that the Duke should relinquish the Country of *En*, with the Towns of *Fescamp* and *Cherburgh*, to the King of *England*. And on the other hand, that the King should assist the Duke in the Recovery of the County of *Main*, and some Castles that had revolted from him. That the King also should restore to the *Norman* Nobility, who had adher'd to the Duke, their Estates in *England*, and that Duke *Robert* shou'd enjoy certain Lands in *England* agreed by this Treaty to be yielded to him. And lastly, that the longest Liver shou'd enjoy both *England* and *Normandy*. For the Performance of which Treaty twelve Barons of each side took their Oaths, according to the Custom of those Times. 1091. A Treaty of Peace between the King and Duke *Robert*.

Prince *Henry* not being included in this Treaty was extremely disoblig'd, and found Means to surprize St. *Michael's Mount*, a Fortrefs on the *French* Coast, surrounded by the Sea, and in those Days held to be impregnable: Here he was besieg'd by his two Brothers, and for a long time resisted the Attacks of their united Forces; but being in great Distress for Water, he apply'd himself to Duke *Robert*, (to whose good Nature he was no Stranger) desiring he might be subdu'd by Force of Arms rather than by Thirst. Whereupon the Duke sent him a Present. They unite against Prince *Henry*.

1091.



of Wine, and suffer'd him to carry as much Water as he wanted into the Fortress. For which King *William* reflecting on him, 'tis said, he answer'd, *Shall I suffer my Brother to die with Thirst?* but the King deriding his Easiness return'd to *England* in some Disgust. However the Fort was not long after surrendred to the Duke; and Prince *Henry* having now no Castle or Seat he cou'd call his own, spent his time in travelling from one Place to another, with no greater Retinue than a single Knight, three Esquires, and a Chaplain. Prince *Edgar Atheling* also, who had resided some time in Duke *Robert's* Court, was about this time banish'd from thence, and all his Lands in *England* confiscated by King *William*, whereupon he retir'd into *Scotland* to his Brother-in-Law King *Malcolm*; but what was the Occasion of this Usage our Historians do not relate. King *William* and Duke *Robert* the same Year invaded *Scotland* with their united Forces, their Armies being supported by the *English* Fleet; but the Fleet was dispers'd by a Storm, and the Land Forces suffering extremely in the Mountains by the Rigour of the Season, a Peace was concluded by the Mediation of Prince *Edgar*, who was again taken into Favour by the King and Duke, and the latter carrying him over into *Norland* mediated by *Edgar Atheling*, constituted him one of his Council.

A Peace
between
England
and *Scot-*
land me-
diated by
Edgar
Atheling

1092.

This Year the County of *Glamorgan* was wrested from *Rees*, Prince of *South Wales*, and reduc'd under the Dominion of the *English*, by *Robert Fitzhammond*, a brave Knight of the King's Bedchamber. About the same time the City of *Carlisle* was re-edify'd to defend the *English* Borders against the Incursions of the *Scots*. This Town had been destroy'd by

by the *Danes*, and lain in Ruins above 200 Years. The King falling dangerously ill at this time, 'tis said, grew very penitent, promising to fill up all the vacant Bishopricks and Benefices he held in his own Hands with worthy Men, and to govern his People by just Laws. In this Fit of Devotion he conferr'd the Bishoprick of *Lincoln* upon *Robert Bloet*, one of his Council; and the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* upon *Anselm*, a *Norman* Abbot, celebrated for his Piety. But the King recovering soon after, refus'd to restore the Lands he had taken from the Archbishoprick, which soon occasion'd a Misunderstanding between this Prince and *Anselm*: He order'd the Prisoners also to be imprison'd again whom he had releas'd, and acted in all Respects as arbitrarily as ever.

In the mean time Prince *Henry*, the Conqueror's youngest Son, having been expell'd both *England* and *Normandy* by his elder Brothers, and wander'd about for some time like an Exile, found Means, by the Power of his Money, to procure the Fortress of *Dumfront* on the Coast of *Normandy* to be deliver'd up to him; and here he resided till his Brother King *William* was reconcil'd to him, and brought him over into *England*.

Malcolm, King of *Scotland*, coming to *Gloucester* in the Year 1093, to settle some Articles in the late Treaty between the two Kings, which wanted Explanation, King *William* refus'd to see him, unless he wou'd submit to do him Homage in the City. *Malcolm* refusing to perform his Homage any where but upon the Borders of the two Kingdoms, as had been accusom'd, was not admitted to the King of *England's* Presence; and retiring into

1092.
The King falling Sick renews his Promises to govern according to Law.

1093.
Malcolm King of *Scotland* defeated and kill'd in a Battle with the *Englisch*.

1093.

Scotland, enrag'd at the Affront that had been put upon him, soon after invaded the North of *England*, advancing as far as *Alnwick*, where he was surpriz'd by *Robert Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, his Forces defeated, and himself, with his Son *Edward*, kill'd in the Field of Battle. His Queen *Margaret*, the Sister of *Edgar Atheling*, was so concern'd at the Loss of her Husband and Son at one Instant, that she did not survive them above three Days. The *Scotch* Historians ascribe this Misfortune to a notorious Piece of Treachery; they relate, that *Malcolm* having oblig'd the Castle of *Alnwick* to Capitulate, the Garrison offer'd to surrender, upon Condition the King wou'd receive the Keys of the Gates with his own Hands, which being offer'd him by a Soldier at the end of his Spear from the Wall, he run the point of the Spear into the King's Eye as he was about to take the Keys; and that Prince *Edward* his Son, endeavouring to revenge the Death of his Father, receiv'd a mortal Wound, of which he dy'd soon after. But what Occasion there cou'd be for this pretended Piece of Treachery, when it is agreed on all Hands that the *Scotch* Army was defeated by the Earl of *Northumberland*, I can't conceive. *Malcolm* left several Sons behind him; but his Brother *Donald*, however, found Means to ascend the Throne, and *Edgar Atheling*, with his Nephews and Nieces, the Children of the late King, fled to the King of *England* for Protection. King *William* hereupon sent a powerful Army into *Scotland*, under the Command of *Duncan*, the Natural Son of *Malcolm*, who defeated his Uncle *Donald* in a pitch'd Battle, obliging him to abandon the Country.

Country and take Refuge in the *Western Isles*, and *Duncan* was thereupon advanc'd to the Throne. 1093.

About the same time *Rees* Prince of *South Wales* was kill'd in an Engagement with King *William's* Forces near *Brecknock Castle*, whereby *South Wales* was reduc'd under the Power of the Kings of *England*; tho' *North Wales* was govern'd by its own Princes above a hundred Years afterwards.

The Year following a War broke out in *Normandy*, between King *William* and the Duke his Brother, upon the King's refusing to perform his part of the late Treaty: The Duke calling in the *French King* to his Assistance, seem'd at first to have the Advantage, whereupon King *William* order'd twenty thousand fresh Troops to be rais'd in *England*, and embark'd for *Normandy*; however, while they lay at *Hastings* ready to be transported, the Treasurer declar'd that any Soldier upon the payment of ten Shillings might be dismiss'd the Service, which most of them complying with, the King rais'd a Sum of Money sufficient to bribe the *French King* to desert Duke *Robert*, whose Affairs from that time began to decline; but happily for the Duke, the King was oblig'd to return to *England*, in order to repulse the *Welch*, who at this time committed great Ravages on the *English Borders*; and now being reconcil'd to Prince *Henry*, he brought him over with him into *England*.

The King soon after his Return march'd to the Borders of *Wales*, and having rebuilt the Castle of *Montgomery*, penetrated into the Heart of the Country. The *Welch* knowing themselves unable to give him Battle in the open

1095.  open Field, retir'd to the Mountainous and inaccessible parts of their Country, from whence they harraß'd his Troops and cut off his Provisions, insomuch that he was oblig'd to return to *England* without effecting any thing considerable.

A great
Conspira-
cy a-
gainst
the King
defeated.

Having re-enforc'd his Army, he made a second Attempt to reduce the *Welch* the same Year, but was suddenly recall'd from thence by a dangerous Conspiracy form'd against his Person by some of the principal *Norman* Nobility.

Robert de Mowbray Earl of *Northumberland* was at the Head of this Conspiracy, who finding himself slighted by the King, notwithstanding the signal Service he had done in defeating the King of *Scotland*, form'd a Design of advancing to the Throne *Stephen* Earl of *Albemarle*, Nephew to the Conqueror; in which Design *Roger Lacy*, *Hugh* Earl of *Chester*, and several other *Norman* Noblemen concurr'd. The King had no sooner receiv'd Intelligence of their Intention but he march'd towards the North, and laid Siege to *Banborough Castle*, where *Mowbray* was shut up; but the Place prov'd so strong that he was oblig'd to change the Siege into a Blockade. In these Circumstances the Earl of *Northumberland* was, when he receiv'd an Intimation, that if he would appear before *Newcastle*, that Town would surrender to him; but this is suppos'd to have been a Stratagem of the Enemy's, for he was not gone far towards *Newcastle* before a Party of the Garrison of *Molvoism* made him their Prisoner, of which the King receiving Advice, order'd him to be led up to the Gates of *Banborough Castle*, and if the Garrison refus'd to surrender, to put out the Earl's Eyes; to prevent which the Castle was yielded up to the

the King's Troops, and the Earl remain'd a Prisoner in *Windsor Castle* thirty Years afterwards : The Lands of *Roger Lacy* were confiscated ; *Hugh*, Earl of *Chester*, purchased his Peace with the Sum of 3000*l*. The Earl of *En* was condemn'd to lose his Eyes ; and *Gemtal Williams* of *Ardres*, was order'd to be hang'd ; and many others redeem'd their Lives with Money.

Archbishop *Anselm*, who was already on ill Terms with the King, provok'd him further, by acknowledging *Urban* for Pope, when he knew the King was inclin'd to favour *Clement* his Adversary ; especially since it was directly against an Ordinance of the former Reign for a Subject of *England* to acknowledge any Person for Pope without the King's License. He took an Opportunity therefore, on this Occasion, to express the utmost Resentment at the Behaviour of this Prelate, rendring him so uneasy at length, that *Anselm* desir'd Leave to retire to the Court of *Rome* ; which Request the King deny'd at first, but thought fit afterwards to grant, perhaps with a View of seizing the Temporalties of the Archbishoprick, which he apply'd to his own Use as soon as the Bishop was gone. *Anselm*, on the other hand, so effectually represented the Hardships put upon him to the Pope, that a Decree pass'd for the Excommunication of the King ; tho' it was immediately revok'd at the Intercession of the Archbishop, as 'tis said. The King was afterwards threatned with another Excommunication, on his refusing to be reconciled to *Anselm*, and restore the Temporalties he had seiz'd ; but he found Means, by his Bribes and Presents at the Court of *Rome*, to manage

1095. manage Matters so, as that the Sentence was never solemnly pronounc'd against him; or rather, the Pope was so intent at this time on engaging all the Princes of *Europe* to endeavour the Recovery of the Holy Land out of the Hands of the Infidels, that he did not care to proceed to Extremities; whereupon *Anselm* despairing of being restor'd to the Archbishoprick, retir'd to *Lyons* in *France*, where he remained till the King's Death.

1096. In the mean time the Pope assembled a Council at *Clermont* in *France*, where he propos'd the Recovery of the Holy Land out of the Hands of the Infidels; and *Peter*, a French Hermit, who was lately return'd from a Pilgrimage he made to *Palestine*, representing the Miseries the Christians groan'd under in the East in a very moving manner, the Prelates who compos'd the Council declar'd their Approbation of the Expedition, and affectionately recommended the Recovery of *Palestine* to their respective Princes; which induc'd an incredible Number of People of all Degrees, Ages and Sexes, to engage in this Holy Warfare. Their Badge was a red Cross on the Shoulder of the upper Garment, from whence they obtain'd the Name of the *Croises*, or the *Crossed*, and the Expedition a *Crusade*, their Motto being *It is God's Will*. There were not less than five hundred thousand People of all Nations, that in the abundance of their Zeal, undertook this long and perilous March, tho' scarce a fourth part of them ever arriv'd in *Palestine*, most of them perishing by the way for Want of Necessaries; but these consisted chiefly of poor People, an undisciplin'd Mob, Old Men, Women and Children, who were very ill provided for such

an Undertaking: There was another Set of 1096.
Men inur'd to War, commanded by the
greatest Princes and Generals in *Christendom*,
who bravely made their Way thro' the *Saracen*
Armies, and took *Jerusalem* from them by
Storm: Of these the Principal were, *Robert*
Duke of *Normandy*, *Hugh* Brother to the
King of *France*, *Godfrey* Duke of *Bouillon* and
Lorrain, *Raymond* Count of *St. Giles's*, *Robert*
Earl of *Flanders*, and *Baldwin* Earl of
Hanault. The Duke of *Normandy* was so
zealous in this Enterprize, that he mortgag'd
his Dutchy to his Brother King *William* for
ten thousand Marks, in order to enable him
to undertake it; but I refer the Reader to
the 11th Vol. of *Modern History*, p. 374,
for a more particular Account of this *Crusade*.

Duke
Robert
mortga-
ges Nor-
mandy
to the
King.

King *William* it seems, having already ex-
hausted the Kingdom by Taxes, borrow'd
the ten thousand Marks he lent the Duke his
Brother of the Nobility and Clergy, and
the Abbies gave him their very Plate and
Ornaments, not very willingly it is presum'd,
but they were sensible if they had rejected
the Demand, he wou'd have taken that and
a great deal more by Force. The Money
being paid, the King took Possession of *Nor-*
mandy, and claiming also the *French Vexin*
as belonging to it, this occasion'd a War be-
tween the Kings of *France* and *England*,
which after some petty Encounters, was con-
cluded by a Treaty of Peace, about a Year
afterwards.

The King was no sooner return'd from
Normandy, but he made great Preparations
for reducing *North Wales* under his Dominion;
but having penetrated through the Country,
and lost abundance of his Men in the At-

1097.

1097. tempt, without being able to bring the *Welsh* to a decisive Battle, he contented himself with erecting some Fortresses on the Marches, to prevent their Incurfions, and return'd to *England*.

Edgar Atkeling In the mean Time, *Donald* having again possess'd himself of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, com- King *William*, soon after the *Welsh* Expedition, sent an Army thither under the Command of Prince *Edgar Atkeling*, who depos'd *Donald*, and plac'd his Nephew, Prince *Edgar*, the eldest surviving Son of *Malcolm*, against upon the Throne. *Scotland*.

This Year the People of *England* were grievously afflicted by Famine, but much more by heavy Taxes, some whereof were levied under the Pretence of repairing *London-Bridge*, part of which had been carried away by a surprizing Inundation of the *Thames*; for the repairing the Fortifications of the Tower; and for erecting that stately Fabrick of *Westminster-Hall*, during the Building of which, it appears the King resided in *Normandy*, where he reduc'd the City of *Mans*, and the District belonging to it, under his Power.

1098. *Westminster-Hall* built. While the King was on the other side the *North Wales* over-run by the *English*. Water, *Owen*, a *Welsh* Lord, Father-in-Law to *Griffith* and *Cadogan*, Kings of *Wales*, having receiv'd some Affront from them, applied himself to the Earls of *Chester* and *Shrewsbury*, promising if they appear'd with a Body of Troops on the Borders, to assist them in reducing the Country under the Obedience of the *English*. The Earls marching with all Expedition into *Wales*, found the two Kings perfectly unprovided to resist their Forces, and compell'd both of them to abandon

don the Country and retire into *Ireland*: The Earls afterwards advanc'd as far as the *Isle of Anglesey*, destroying the Country before them in a dreadful Manner, and committing a great many Barbarities. It happen'd that at this very Instant, *Magnus* King of *Norway* had compleated the Conquest of the *Isle of Man*, and making a Descent afterwards in *Anglesey*, came to an Engagement with the *English* there, in which the Earl of *Sbrewsbury* was kill'd; but the *Danes* however left *Anglesey* in the Possession of the *English*, who gave the Government of it to their Friend *Owen*, that invited them thither, and retired into *England* with their Booty. King *William* returning into *England* a little before *Whitsuntide*, kept that Festival in the great Hall lately erected at *Westminster*, and hearing some People admire the vast Dimensions of the Fabrick, it is said he declar'd it was a Trifle in comparison to what he intended to have built; and had he liv'd much longer, it is suppos'd he would have pull'd it down, and built one still more Magnificent; his principal Design in his Buildings, as well as in the unnecessary Wars he enter'd into, being to drain his Subjects Purfes, as some Writers suggest, for he always demanded a great deal more than he wanted on such Occasions.

The King had not been return'd to *England* many Weeks, before News was brought him, as he was Hunting in the *New Forest*, that the City of *Mans*, his late Conquest in *France*, was taken by *Hely*, Count de la *Fleſche*, and that the Castle was so closely press'd, that it would be oblig'd to surrender, if not speedily reliev'd: Whereupon he order'd the

1098.

1099.

1099.

The
King
goes o-
ver to
France,
and raises
the Siege
of Mans.

Courier to acquaint the Governor, he shou'd be reliev'd within eight Days; and turning his Horse's Head, rode with all imaginable Speed towards *Dartmouth*. His Officers demanding if he would not make some Stop till his Troops could be assembled, 'tis said, he only answer'd, *They that love me will follow me.* He was no sooner arriv'd at *Dartmouth* but he went on Shipboard, ordering the Captain to make all the Sail he could, who representing that the Weather was so tempestuous they should infallibly be cast away, he replied, *Didst thou ever hear of a King that was drown'd,* and persisted in his setting sail immediately: (Much the same Thing is said of *Cæsar* on a like Occasion.) The King being safely landed at *Barfleur*, the next Morning drew together the Troops that were quarter'd in that Neighbourhood, and march'd with that Expedition to the Relief of the Castle of *Mans*, that the Count *de Flesche* was surpriz'd and taken Prisoner, and the Besiegers driven from before the Place with the utmost Confusion. Upon which Success the King insulting his Prisoner the Count, that Gentleman answer'd, He was more oblig'd to his Expedition and good Fortune than his Valour, and that if he were at Liberty again, he would find it no easy Matter to vanquish him. To which the King replied, *Take your Liberty, and let us see what mighty Things you can do, I expect no Favour at your Hands,* and so dismiss'd the Count.

Mans being thus happily reliev'd, the King return'd to *England* a little before *Michaelmas*, and Advice coming over about the same Time of the taking *Jerusalem* by the *Christians*,

ans, many other Princes determin'd to engage in the Enterprize of recovering the *Holy-Land* from the Infidels, among whom none were more Zealous than *William* Earl of *Poictou*, who offer'd to mortgage the Dutchy of *Guienne* (*Aquitain*) to King *William*, to enable him to lead a Body of Troops to the Assistance of the *Christians* in *Palestine*: This Proposal the King of *England* readily clos'd with, for 'tis said he had already form'd a Design of reducing both the Dutchies of *Normandy* and *Guienne*, under the Dominion of the Crown of *England*.

However, certain it is, he had given out Orders for raising a great Army, and equipping a Fleet, which gave some Colour for this Suggestion; but while this Armament was making, the King diverting himself in *New Forest* at his favourite Sport of Hunting, he was accidentally kill'd by an Arrow, which put an End to all his ambitious Projects, of which Accident the Writers of those Times give us the following Account.

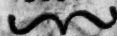
They relate, that as he was about to take Horse on the 2d of *August* in the Morning, one of his Officers endeavour'd to dissuade him from Hunting that Day, because of an unlucky Dream a Monk of his Acquaintance had the preceding Night, wherein he saw a Crucifix beat the King to the Ground, and kick him till Fire and Smoke issu'd out of his Mouth: At the relation whereof, the King only answer'd merrily, *The Monk wants Money for his Dream: Go give him an hundred Shillings, but bid him dream better for the future.* And having taken a Glass of Wine, he went immediately to his Sport, attended by Prince *Henry* and some Officers of his Court,

1099.

1100.

Will. II.
kill'd by
an Ar-
row.

1100.



Court, among whom was Sir *Walter Tyrrel*, a *French* Knight, esteem'd an excellent Marksman. The King having slightly wounded a Stag, 'tis said, bid Sir *Walter* shoot and endeavour to bring him down, but the Arrow glancing on a Tree, penetrated the King's Breast, whereupon he fell from his Horse, and died without uttering a Word. Some Authors affirm that the Arrow was levell'd at the King with Design; others say he was not shot, but fell upon the Point of it and kill'd himself; but however that might be, certain it is, Sir *Walter* was never call'd to account for the Fact. A Collier's Cart coming by at that Instant the King was kill'd, the People about him laid the Corpse in it, and in this Manner convey'd it to the Bishop's Palace at *Winchester*, and it was the next Day interr'd in the Church under the Tower. His Death happen'd on the 2d of *August*, 1100, being the forty-fourth Year of his Age, having reign'd twelve Years ten Months and twenty-two Days.

His Per-
son and
Cha-
racter.

His Stature was of the lowest, and he was pretty thick and fat; he had usually a fresh hale Complexion, and yellow Hair; his Eyes were spotted and of different Colours; he had a strong harsh Voice, and talk'd pretty much, but no good Elocution.

As to the Character of this Prince, it may be gather'd from his Conduct and the Occurrences of his Reign; I shall only observe here, that the Historians of those Times, who were either Monks or Ecclesiasticks, seem to bear too hard upon his Memory, charging him with many Vices of which they give us no Instances, but dwell altogether in Generals: That he was an arbitrary Prince
and

and exacted great Sums of Money of his Subjects, both Clergy and Laity, which he as extravagantly threw away upon his Soldiers and Favourites, in splendid Shews and Festivals, or erecting magnificent Buildings, is not to be denied; and that he was very severe upon those who meddled with his Game, is not much to be doubted; but as to the rest of those vile Things, with which this Prince is charg'd by the Zealots of that Age, I must confess I do not give much Credit to them: But I should not be forgiven, if I forgot to observe with the whole Body of our Historians, that he met with his Death in that very Country his Father had destroy'd, to make it a Habitation of wild Beasts, and in the pursuit of that very Game, for the Preservation whereof he had been guilty of innumerable Severities, not to say Cruelties, towards his Subjects of the first Rank.

Notwithstanding that Covetousness with which he is charg'd, 'tis observ'd he did some generous Things; as when two wealthy Monks were bidding against each other for a rich Abby, demanding of a third that stood by, what he would give for it? and the Monk answering, *He would give nothing, it was against his Conscience to purchase Church Preferments.* He thereupon swore, *That he best deserv'd it, and should have it for nothing.*

Some extraordinary Accidents happen'd in this Reign, particularly an Earthquake in the 2d, but our Historians do not mention any Damage done by it.

In the 4th, a terrible Lightning, which among other Buildings almost destroy'd the Abby of *Winscombe*, and a Storm that demolish'd

1100.

molish'd six hundred Houses in *London*, and took off the Roof of *Bow-Church*; a Famine with a great Mortality, happen'd in the 6th Year of this Reign; and such an Inundation of the River *Thames* as carried away great part of *London-Bridge*, Anno 1096; but as to the Fire which burnt down *London*, I find it mention'd by no other Writer than *Rapin*. In the 11th Year of this Reign, 'tis said, a Fountain of Blood issu'd out of the Ground at *Finchampsfield* near *Abington* in *Berkshire*; and in the last Year, the Sea overflow'd several maritime Places, destroying a multitude of People, and several Tracts of Land that were never recover'd, particularly the Lands of *Earl Godwin*, now call'd the *Godwin Sands*, that lye in the *Downs* over-against *Deal*.

His Title.

As to the Right *William II.* had to the Crown of *England*, if we follow my Friend *Rapin*, neither he nor any other Prince, from the Time of the *Britons* to the present Age, could have any other *Legal Title* than the Election of the People; this Privilege of electing and deposing our Princes at Pleasure, he looks upon as an essential and unalienable Part of our Constitution. But a modern Writer, who has studied this Point more thoroughly, makes out this Prince's Title in the following Manner, viz.

That the Kings of *England* had formerly a Power of naming their Successors; and that the Conqueror declar'd *Rufus* his Successor, can never be controverted by those who are acquainted with our Histories, which agree in nothing more than this particular Fact; it is true *Robert Duke of Normandy*, being eldest Son to King *William*, pretended *England* belong'd

long'd to him by Right of Inheritance, and therefore with the Assistance of some of the great *Norman* Lords settled here, gave *Rufus* some Disturbance for two or three Years. But it seems the *English* (who had the Confidence in those Days to value themselves upon their Fidelity to their Princes) thought *Rufus's* the better Title, and therefore firmly adher'd to him, and defended him so well, that *Robert* found it advisable to come to an Agreement with his Brother; by which the Kingdom was entirely yielded up to *Rufus*. We are told indeed, that *Rufus* violating the Articles of this Treaty, the two Brothers were soon after engag'd in a fresh War; but those Differences were in a very little Time amicably compos'd by the Mediation of *Philip* King of *France*, of which the *French* Historians have given an ample Account; and we do not find that Duke *Robert* gave his Brother any further Trouble during his Reign: On the contrary, about five or six Years before *Rufus's* Death, *Robert* mortgages his Dutchy of *Normandy* to him for ten thousand Marks, and leaves him in Possession of it during his Expedition to the *Holy-Land*; and it is well known King *Rufus* held it as long as he did the Kingdom of *England*: So that if the Conqueror's Authority to dispose of his Crown shou'd be disputed, his Son *Rufus* was however a rightful King for the greater Part of his Reign, by the Consent and Agreement of his Brother. As for *Edgar Atheling*, it is evident upon the strictest Enquiry, that he never laid claim to the Crown after the Conqueror's Decease, neither had he any Friends to prompt him to it; the *English* were unanimous for *Rufus*; and if we search

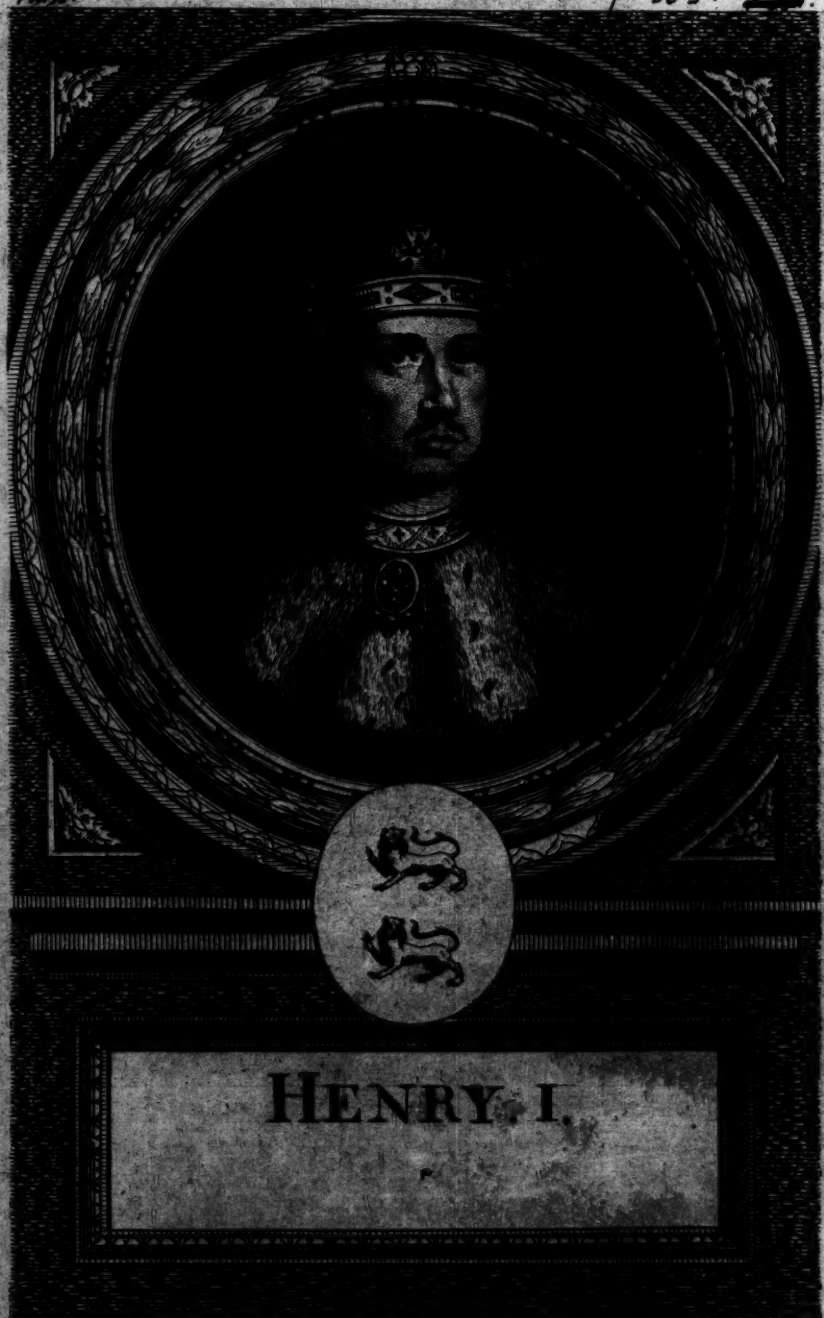
1100.



the Records of those Times, we shall meet with manifest Signs and Indications of his entire Submission to *Rufus*, as to his own particular Concerns. In the last Year of the Conqueror, it appears that *Edgar* obtain'd that Prince's Consent to go into *Apulia* with two hundred Men, and we are assur'd he set sail from *England* upon that Expedition. In the Year 1089, we find him in *Normandy*, and then it is said he was one of Duke *Robert's* chief Counsellors. Now it must be observ'd, that Duke *Robert* did at that Time challenge the Crown of *England* himself, and therefore we may be confident, *Edgar*, who entirely depended upon him, and thought himself happy in that Prince's Friendship, would not disoblige him by setting up an opposite Claim of his own; 'tis rather probable, that *Edgar* would have been glad to have seen *Robert* on the Throne, for whom he had a most passionate Concern and Affection. But however that might have been, we are sure that afterwards, upon the Reconciliation of the two Brothers, *Edgar* also made his Peace with *Rufus*, which we may be positive cou'd not be effected without the Recognition of his Title, and a Tender of his Service and Obedience; for a Proof of which, he undertakes to mediate a Treaty between *Scotland* and *Rufus*, which terminated in a happy Peace between them. A few Years after, we are inform'd that *Rufus* took care to shew in what a Degree of Favour and Credit *Edgar* was with him, by placing him at the Head of an Army that he might settle his Nephew on the Throne of *Scotland*. Now these mutual Kindnesses that pass'd between *Edgar* and the two Brothers, are evident Tokens that he had abandon'd all

Thoughts





Thoughts of a Crown, and desir'd only to enjoy their Friendship in the humble Condition of a Subject. 

C H A P. XIII.

The Reign of HENRY I. containing thirty-five Years and three Months.

P R I N C E Henry, surnam'd *Beauclerk* Henry I. from his Learning, taking Advantage of his Brother *Robert's* Absence, who was not yet return'd from the *Holy-Land*, by promising to restore the Clergy to their Rights, and govern the People by their antient *Saxon* Laws, prevail'd on them to recognize him for their Sovereign; and he was Crown'd at *Westminster* by *Maurice* Bishop of *London*, on Sunday the fifth of *August*, within three Days after the Death of the late King. He began his Reign with abundance of popular Acts: He reform'd his Court; declar'd that such of his Officers or Magistrates as were guilty of any Oppression or Injustice towards his Subjects, should be punish'd with Death; and Adultery with the Loss of Eyes and Castration; and actually imprison'd *Ralph* Bishop of *Durham*, who had been the principal Instrument of Oppression in the late Reign, which gain'd him universal Applause. The Men in Power in those Times, it seems, were notorious for their Extortions and Lust; they were not content, says my Author, to be privately wicked, but boasted of their Rapine and Violence, to the great Mortification of the injur'd People, especially of the *Eng-lish*, whom they look'd upon as Slaves, and their Persons at their Mercy; And to this

1100. Day we find no People so insolent as the *French* when Fortune favours them. But to proceed, He restor'd also to the *English*, the Privilege of having Lights in their Houses after the Ringing of the *Curfeu-Bell*; and to the infinite Satisfaction both of *Normans* and *English*, he granted a Charter, whereby he confirm'd the Rights of the Church, and relinquish'd his Claim to the Temporalities upon a Vacancy. He declar'd that the Barons might enter upon the Inheritance of their Ancestors, on paying him the accustom'd Relief; that the Nobility might marry their Children without waiting for his Consent, provided it was not to his Enemies; and that Mothers and the nearest Relations might be Guardians to Minors. He ordain'd also, that false Coiners should be punish'd with Loss of Limbs, and that the Length of his Arm (the present Yard) should be the Measure throughout the Kingdom. He forgave all Debts due to the Crown, and all Capital Offences committed before his Coronation, and lastly, he confirm'd the Laws of *the Confessor*. To which Charter, all the great Men about the Court were Witnesses, and a Copy of it was order'd to be kept in some Monastery in every County.

His Charter of Liberties

He marries Maud of Scotland.

The next popular Act was his recalling the exil'd Archbishop *Anselm* from *Lyons*, whom he invited into *England*, promising to be directed by his Councils. And to make a Friend of *Scotland*, he propos'd to marry the Princess *Maud* or *Matilda*, Sister to *Edgar* the present King, and Daughter to the late Queen *Margaret*, the Sister of *Edgar Ateling*, which he was sensible would endear him to the *English*, this Princess being of the Blood Royal

Royal of that Nation; but as she was in a Nunnery, and had taken the Veil, it was doubted whether her Vow could be dispens'd with. This Difficulty the King referr'd to Archbishop *Anselm*, whereupon that Prelate summon'd a Council of Bishops, Abbots, and other Ecclesiasticks, with some of the Lay Nobility, who upon enquiring into the Matter, found that she had been veil'd against her Inclination, and only took the Habit upon her to secure her Chastity against the *Normans*, (who looking upon the *English* as a conquer'd People, as has been intimated already, made no Scruple of debauching the Ladies of that Nation, of what Quality soever, and were suffer'd by the *Norman* Princes to commit these Violences with Impunity, till the present King put a Stop to them.) These Suggestions being prov'd to the Satisfaction of the Council, it was unanimously determin'd, that the Lady was at liberty to quit the Cloyster, and enter into the State of Matrimony whenever she saw fit; whereupon the Marriage was solemniz'd between King *Henry* and the Princess *Matilda*, soon after the Feast of *St. Michael*, in the first Year of his Reign.

Thus far all Things went on smoothly, but *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* returning from the *Holy-Land* the following Year, look'd upon his Brother's assuming the Regal Title as a notorious Usurpation of his Right, and immediately prepar'd a Fleet and Army to assert his Title to the Crown of *England*, in which he was encourag'd by *Ralph* Bishop of *Durham*, Prime Minister of the late King, who had found Means to escape out of Prison, and transport himself to *Normandy*. This

1100.

1101.

The Duke of *Normandy* claims the Crown of *England*.

1101.

This Prelate assur'd Duke *Robert*, that the *Norman Nobility* were far from being unanimous for his Brother; that if they had known the Duke was living, and where to have applied to him, they would infalliably have proclaim'd him King upon the Death of his Father, and that it was only by some popular Grants, and the Forces his Brother *Henry* had about him, that he prevented a general Defection.

King *Henry* alarm'd at the Preparations his Brother was making to invade the Kingdom, left no Means unattempted to secure his Possession. He assembled the Barons, and oblig'd them to renew their Oaths of Allegiance; he courted the Clergy, promising them his Favour and Protection; and knowing the Influence Archbishop *Anselm* had on the People, he prevail'd on that Prelate to recommend his Interests to them, and to declare, that the breaking through their Oaths, so lately and solemnly taken, would be detested by both God and Man.

Notwithstanding which, when Intelligence was brought that Duke *Robert* was actually embark'd with his Forces, and steering for the Coast of *England*, many of the Nobility began to shew themselves well affected to the Duke, and part of the *English Fleet* actually went over to him, whereupon he landed his Troops without Opposition at *Portsmouth*. This fortunate Beginning a little too much elated the Duke; he began to look upon himself as already in Possession of the Throne, and to threaten those who had adher'd to his Brother, *the Usurper*, as he stil'd him, which is suppos'd to have been one Occasion of the Barons altering their Minds again, and declaring

claring for *Henry*; but that which seems to have been the principal Occasion of the Duke's ill Success, was his depending so much on the Affections of the People, that he had not brought with him a Force sufficient to protect his Friends, as appear'd on his disembarking his Troops; for whatever Inclinations the People may have on such Occasions, they are generally induc'd to side with the Strongest.

Things being in this Situation, *Henry*, not Treaty well assur'd of the Affection of the Barons, between or even of his own Forces, tho' far more numerous than his Rival's; and the Duke observing on the other Hand, that the Nobility made no haste to join him as he expected, both of them thought fit to put an end to the Dispute by a Treaty, rather than hazard a Battle, and Commissioners being appointed to negotiate the Matter, it was at length agreed, That in consideration Prince *Henry* was in Possession of the Throne, he should remain King of *England* during his Life, paying Duke *Robert* the Annual Sum of three thousand Marks, as an Acknowledgment of his Right; that King *Henry* should resign into his Hands all the Places he held in *Normandy*, and that the Survivor should inherit both the Kingdom of *England* and Dutchy of *Normandy*; that their Adherents on both Sides should be indemnified, and have their Estates and Possessions restor'd them: For the Confirmation whereof, twelve Noblemen of each Party took their solemn Oaths, according to Custom. After which, such was the Confidence between these two Princes, that Duke *Robert* remain'd some Months in the

1101. the Court of *England*, being magnificently entertain'd and carefs'd by his Brother.

1102. Notwithstanding the promis'd Indemnity, A Re-
bellion bellion
sup-
press'd. King *Henry* no sooner found himself establish'd on the Throne, but he took all Opportunities of shewing his Resentment against those who had appear'd in the Interest of his Brother, among whom were *Robert de Bellesme* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Son to *Roger Montgomery*. This Gentleman finding himself discountenanc'd, and apprehending his Destruction aim'd at, or according to other Writers, being of a haughty imperious Temper, and not brooking any Superior in the Government, especially a Prince whom he look'd upon as his avow'd Enemy, reviv'd Duke *Robert's* Title to the Crown of *England* again, and prevail'd with the *Welsh* to join with him in asserting it against the Prince upon the Throne: But King *Henry* immediately assembling a great Army, and marching to the Frontiers of *Wales*, the *Welsh* upon his Approach abandon'd the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the King having reduc'd the Castles of *Shrewsbury*, *Bridgnorth*, *Arundel*, and the rest of the Fortresses in his Possession, the Earl with his two Brothers, *Roger* and *Arnulph*, were oblig'd to quit the Kingdom and retire into *Normandy*, and carrying over a vast Treasure thither with them, they levy'd Forces in that Dutchy, plunder'd and seiz'd the Estates of the *English* in *Normandy*, by way of Retaliation for their Estates in *England*, which King *Henry* had confiscated, and as the Proprietors oppos'd Force with Force, and each Party call'd in their Friends to their Assistance, *Normandy* soon became a Scene of Blood and Confusion; nor does it seem to have

have been in the Power of the Duke to remedy these Disorders. 1102.

In the mean Time, Archbishop *Anselm*, Archbishop who had been so instrumental in establishing the King upon the Throne, presuming possibly that this Prince would oppose no Measures he should take in the Regulation of Ecclesiastical Affairs, conven'd a Synod at *Westminster*, wherein he procur'd the Marriages of the Clergy to be condemn'd, and actually excommunicated all married Priests, notwithstanding one half of them were either married or the Sons of married Clergymen; which some Historians suggest, occasion'd their falling into more detested Vices than simple Fornication. *Anselm* provokes the King.

The Archbishop next proceeded to condemn all Royal Investitures, which were usually perform'd by the Prelates receiving a Pastoral Staff and a Ring from the King, an antient Rite, shewing that the Donation was from the Sovereign.

He also refus'd to Consecrate any Bishop advanc'd by the King, and persisting in this Conduct, he entirely lost the King's Favour, who determin'd not to part with a Prerogative his Predecessors had always exercised. Whereupon the Archbishop appeal'd to the Pope, and took a Journey to *Rome*, in order to get these Innovations establish'd. The King also sent his Ambassadors to *Rome*, to defend his Rights in the Consistory, and the Contest ran so high, that the King confiscated *Anselm's* Revenues for a Time; and on the other hand, was threatned with an Excommunication by the Pope: But Matters were accommodated after a Dispute that lasted three Years: The King was contented to
Vol. XVI. P p yield

1103. yield up the Right of the Investiture, and
 The King yields up the Right of Investiture. the Pope allow'd that the Bishops should do him Homage for their Baronies, which had been some Time refus'd.

The Duke of Normandy coming into England in the Year 1104, to solicit the Arrears of the Annual Sum agreed to be paid him by his Brother Henry, was so carels'd by the King, that he did not only relinquish the Arrears but his Claim to that Annuity for the future. But finding himself distress'd for Money at his return home, he gave out that the King had impos'd upon him and trick'd him out of it: He also gave Protection and Countenance to all the disaffected English Lords who resorted to his Court. In the mean Time he is represented to be so profuse in his Expences, and so bad an Economist, that he had mortgag'd every Place in his Dominions, except his capital City of Rouen, which the Burghers would not consent he should alienate. In these wretched Circumstances he was so imprudent as to give the highest Provocations to his Brother King Henry, (who only wanted a Pretence to invade Normandy, and bring it under the Dominion of the Crown of England) for the Duke did not only carels Robert de Bellefme Earl of Shrewsbury, one of the most inveterate Enemies the King of England had; but William Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Mortagna, half Brother to the Conqueror, who about this Time retir'd from the Court of England in disgust, because the Earldom of Kent was conferr'd on another, which he claim'd as Heir to his Uncle Odo. This Duke having join'd the Earl of Shrewsbury, harraisd and plunder'd all Places in Normandy, that belong'd

long'd to the King of *England* or his Subjects, which occasion'd a kind of Civil War in that Dutchy. The *Norman* Nobility hereupon applied themselves to the King of *England* for Protection, finding their proper Sovereign either unable or unwilling to relieve them. *Henry* hereupon, 'tis said, reprehended Duke *Robert* for his Supineness in neglecting the Defence of his People, and encouraging Rebels and Traytors to his Government. But little Notice being taken of his Advice, the King levy'd a powerful Army, with which he made a Descent upon *Normandy*, and carrying over large Sums of Money with him, he corrupted the Nobility and Governors of Places to that Degree, that great part of the Dutchy revolted to him the first Campaign; after which he return'd to *England* for fresh Supplies of Men and Money, in order to finish his Conquests.

1105.

Part of
Nor-
mandy
revolts to
King
Henry.

The Duke's Affairs being in a desperate Condition, he took Advantage of the Cessation of Hostilities during the Winter, and went over into *England* in hopes of bringing his Brother to some Accommodation; but he being bent on uniting *Normandy* to his Dominions, was deaf to all Offers and Expedients that came short of this; whereupon the Duke return'd Home in order to raise Forces against the Spring, and form such Alliances as might enable him to bring the Enemy to Terms.

1106.

King *Henry*, 'tis said, apprehensive that the *English* might be mov'd at the Misfortunes of the Duke, and charge him with Injustice, in endeavouring to deprive his eldest Brother of his Territories on the other side the Water, when he had already seiz'd his *English* Dominions, thought fit to assemble the Grand

1106. Council of Peers, (which some affect to call a Parliament, insinuating that this Assembly was constituted in like manner as our Parliaments are at this Day) to whom he made a Speech, reflecting on the Impiety of his Brother in refusing the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, on which Account he observ'd God had justly forsaken him: He represented also the Miseries the *Normans* suffer'd under his supine Administration, and said he thought it incumbent on him to endeavour the Deliverance of a People to whom he was so nearly related, and who had apply'd to him for Protection: He appeal'd to the Lords as Witnesses of his own peaceable Disposition, in suffering so long his Brother's Menaces without making any other Return than gentle and friendly Admonitions: He put them in Mind of the Duke's profuse extravagant Temper, and of his Arrogance in treating the *English* on all Occasions with Contempt, whereas he assur'd them the Laws should ever be the Rule of his own Actions, of which he observ'd they had undeniable Security by the Charter he had granted them, concluding that as he was assur'd of the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects, he should slight all the Efforts of his Brother and his Adherents.

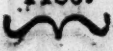
Which Harangue had such an Effect on the Peers, that they declar'd they would live and die in his Defence.

Not long after the King embark'd with a powerful Army for *Normandy*, being attended thither by the principal Nobility of the Kingdom. His first Attempt was on the Town of *Tinchebray*, which he block'd up, erecting a Fortress near it that very much annoy'd the Place: The Duke of *Cornwall* however, found

1106.

Battle of
Tinche-
bray.

found Means to throw Relief into the Town ; but the King laying close Siege to it, and being upon the Point of making himself Master of it, the Dukes of *Normandy* and *Cornwal* join'd their Forces and offer'd him Battle, which the King accepted. His Army was more numerous than the Enemy in Horſe ; but the *Norman* Infantry exceeded that of the *Engliſh*. The Battle, 'tis ſaid, was fought with ſome Obſtinacy at firſt ; but the Duke's Horſe abandoning the Foot a total Rout enſu'd : Four hundred *Norman* Horſe, and ten thouſand Foot, were kill'd upon the Spot, with very little Loſs on the ſide of the *Engliſh*; and the Dukes of *Normandy* and *Cornwal*, with *Edgar Atheling* and ſeveral other Noblemen, were made Priſoners. This Victory was gain'd the Day before the Feaſt of St. Michael, Anno 1106, about forty Years after the Battle of *Hafterings*, which advanc'd the Conqueror to the Throne of *England*. Prince *Edgar Atheling* was ſet at Liberty ſoon after the Battle, and ſpent the Remainder of his Days in Peace in *England*, where he died in a good old Age, after having experienc'd a great Variety of Fortune ; but as for the Duke of *Normandy*, he was detain'd Priſoner in *Cardiff-Caſtle* in *Wales* till his Death, which happen'd about twenty-fix Years after this Battle ; and ſome relate, that his Eyes were burnt out on his attempting to make his Eſcape : Others of good Credit affirm, he was a Priſoner at large, took the Diverſion of Hunting when he pleas'd, and had a Table and Attendance allow'd him ſuitable to his Quality : But however that be, *Normandy* after this Battle became a Province to *England*, and indeed the *Normans* in general reap'd Priſoner.

1106.  reap'd very little Advantage from their Conquest of *South Britain*: Some of the chief Officers and principal Adventurers that attended *William* the first hither, 'tis true, had great Estates and Honours conferr'd on them; but *England* being made the Seat of the Government, *Normandy* soon became dependant on it, as is ever the Case where a smaller Principality becomes united to a greater, whether by Force or Compact: And had *England* ever succeeded in her romantick Project of making a Conquest of *France*, she would probably, after exhausting a great deal of her best Blood and Treasure in the Enterprize, have become a miserable Dependant on *France*, where the Sovereign of both Kingdoms would infallibly have resided.

1107. The King enjoying his Dominions in Peace without a Rival, apply'd himself again to the restraining the Insolence and Rapines of his Officers and Ministers, which were such, 'tis said, that the *English* usually fled from their Habitations when the Court mov'd towards them: He caus'd all Offenders therefore to be severely punish'd, who transgress'd the Orders he issu'd in the beginning of his Reign against those who were guilty of any Violence and Oppression: He made the Nobility also sensible of his Authority, giving them to understand, that the Privileges he had granted them by his Charter were not irrevocable, by the Breaches he frequently made in it.

1108. Archbishop *Anselm* at the same time was permitted to harraß the Clergy, and inflict what Punishments he pleas'd upon them, on Account of their retaining their Wives, which was esteem'd no less criminal than Fornication.

Lewis

Lewis the Gross, who succeeded *Philip* in the Kingdom of *France*, jealous of the growing Power of *Henry*, espous'd the Interest of *William* the Son of Duke *Robert*, whom the *Norman* Nobility were very fond of, and would gladly have seen him their Sovereign : whereupon the King immediately embark'd for *Normandy*, and found Means to make the young Prince his Prisoner, but he escap'd out of his Hands by the Contrivance of his Governor *Elias*, and apply'd himself to the *French* King and several other Powers for their Assistance to recover his Rights ; but his Uncle *Henry* had render'd himself so formidable to all the Princes of *Europe*, that none of them had the Courage to declare publicly for Prince *William* ; tho' many of them wish'd him Success, and contributed to his Subsistence underhand, as did several of the *Norman* Nobility.

King *Henry* returning from *Normandy*, Ambassadors attended him from the Emperor *Henry* the Vth. to propose a Marriage between their Master and the King's Daughter *Matilda*, which being agreed to, the Nuptials were celebrated by Proxy. The Princess being very young, she was not sent to *Germany* till the following Year, when a Tax of three Shillings was laid on every Hide of Land for the Payment of her Portion, which, according to *Dr. Brady*, rais'd as much Money as is equivalent to 824,850 l. of our present Money.

About this time died Archbishop *Anselm*, who for his Zeal and Sufferings, in behalf of the Holy See and the Church, was canoniz'd for a Saint : And here King *Henry* gave a fresh Instance of the little Regard he had to his

1109. his Promises in the beginning of his Reign, by seizing on the Temporalties of that Archbishoprick, and keeping them five Years in his Hands.

1110.
Learn-
ing re-
viv'd in
Cam-
bridge
Univer-
sity.

The University of *Cambridge* having been ruin'd by the *Danes*, Learning began to revive there about this time, *Joffred* Abbot of *Croyland* sending over *Gislebert*, one of the Monks of that Abby, and Professor of Divinity, thither with three other Monks to teach the Sciences there, which they did for some time in a Barn, and met with very great Success, Scholars daily resorting to them from all Parts. The same Year part of *Flanders* being laid under Water by an Inundation of the Sea, great Numbers of *Flemmings* came over to *England*, and were sent first into the Northern Counties, but were afterwards remov'd to the *English* Conquests in *Wales*, where they did good Service in defending the Country against those who had not submitted to the *English* Dominion, and their Posterity remain in *Pembrokeshire* at this Day, being a different People from the *Britons* or *Welsh*, both in their Language and Manners.

1111.

The King was oblig'd to go over into *Normandy* the following Year to stop the Progress of *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*, who attack'd the Frontiers of the Dutchy, and made himself Master of *Constance* by the Assistance of *Elias* Earl of *Maine*: The King had the good Fortune to take the Earl of *Maine* Prisoner, and caus'd him to be put to Death to strike a Terror into the rest of the *Norman* Lords, whom he apprehended ready to revolt and espouse the Cause of his Nephew *William*; but *Godfrey* Earl of *Gaut*, having married the Daughter of *Elias*, kept the Possession of
Constance

Constance against all the Forces the King could bring against him. The War continu'd between the *English* and the Earl of *Anjou*, who was supported underhand by the *French* King, till the Year 1113, but a Marriage being at length agreed on between Prince *William*, Son to the King of *England*, and the Daughter of the Earl of *Anjou*, all Differences were thereupon accommodated between them; and the King was so fortunate also to get his old Enemy *Robert de Belleme* deliver'd into his Hands, whom he brought over into *England*, and kept close Prisoner in *Warham* Castle during his Life, whereupon the *Norman* Territories continu'd in Peace for five Years after. But the *Welsh* still gave him some Uneasiness, making continual Intursions into the *English* Borders, and ravaging the Country, which so provok'd the King, that 'tis said, he vow'd to extirpate all the Inhabitants of *North Wales*, and having assembled a powerful Army he divided it into three Bodies, and entering *Wales* destroy'd the Country with Fire and Sword, obliging them at length to submit to such Terms as he thought fit to impose upon them, after which he return'd to *England* in Triumph, where he receiv'd the agreeable News of the Marriage being consummated between the Emperor and his Daughter *Maud*, and her being crown'd Empress at *Mentz*, this Princess being then fourteen Years of Age.

The King, in order to secure the Succession of his Dominions to his Son *William*, went over into *Normandy*, where he made the States of that Dutchy swear Fealty to him (being then about twelve Years of Age) as his lawful Successor. He afterwards summoned the Nobility

2116. bility, Clergy, and Freemen of *England* to *Salisbury*, and oblig'd them to take an Oath, that if Prince *William* should survive his Father, they would assist him in taking Possession of the Throne, and obey him as King of *England*. These Precautions possibly were taken on Advice that the *French* King again espoused the Interest of *William* the Son of Duke *Robert*; and to shew his Resentment at the underhand Practices of *Lewis*, he assisted *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*, then at War with *France*. 1117. *Lewis* on the other hand entering into an Alliance with *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, and *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*, entered *Normandy* with an Army, declaring he would dispossess *Henry* of that Duchy; but the King of *England* soon after landing in *Normandy* with a Body of Troops, and joining his Forces with those of the Duke of *Bretagne* and the Earl of *Blois*, the *French* King and his Confederates retir'd without giving the *English* an Opportunity of engaging them. *Henry* upon his Return to *England* had the Misfortune to bury his Queen. 1118. The following Year King *Lewis* and his Allies enter'd *Normandy* again, wasting the Country in a terrible manner, which *Henry* did not seem very forward to Revenge; whereupon some of his Ministers representing that his Reputation would suffer if he neglected any longer to defend his Subjects from the Insults of the *French*, he answer'd, that he had learnt of his Father to conquer the Rashness of the *French* by Patience, and should find a time to call them to an Account when their Fury was spent; nor was it long before he assembled his Forces again and came to an Engagement with them: The Battle was fought obstinately at first, and

with great Hazard on King *Henry's* part, who happening to engage personally with one *Crispin*, a bold *French* Knight, the King's Helmet was bruised and struck into his Head, which occasion'd a large Effusion of Blood; but the King was so fortunate at length to unhorse the Knight and take him Prisoner, which gave such Courage to his Troops, 'tis said, that Victory soon declar'd for him: Many of the *French* Nobility were taken, together with King *Lewis's* Standard, which the Victor carry'd in Triumph to *Rouen*.

During this War a Council was held by the Pope at *Rheims* in *France*, where great Complaints were made against King *Henry* for his unjust Treatment of his Brother *Robert* and his Son, which his Holiness having heard and consider'd, procur'd a Conference with the King of *England* at *Gisors* in *Normandy*, wherein the Pope represented, that by the Law of God every one ought to enjoy his Rights; and that it was the Desire, both of his Holiness and the Council, that he would set his Brother *Robert* at liberty and restore his Dukedom, to which the King answer'd, that he did not take *Normandy* from his Brother, but only secur'd his Father's Inheritance which was given up to Robbers and dissolute People; that he was invited into the Country by the whole Body of the Clergy to prevent the Destruction of the Church, and by the Nobility to preserve them from utter Ruin. The Pope being satisfy'd with the King's Answers never troubled him more on that Head, tho' our Historians suggest that he gain'd more upon his Holiness by his Presents than his Arguments. The Pope afterwards

negotiated a Peace between the Kings of

1118.

King
Henry
defeats
the
French.

1119.

1120.

A Peace
with
France *France*.

1120.



Prince
William
with many
of the
Nobility
drown'd.

1121

France and England, which was concluded the Year following, the principal Articles whereof were, that all Places taken on either side during the War should be restor'd, and all Prisoners releas'd. Upon the Conclusion of the Peace the King return'd to England, from whence he had been Absent four Years: Prince William, with Richard his Natural Brother, his Sister Maud, Countess of Kent, and many of the young Nobility embark'd in another Ship some time after the King, and having heated the Mariners with Wine, gave them Orders, if possible, to make the Coast of England before the King's Ship, in attempting which they run upon a Rock and split the Vessel: Prince William, however, was put into the long Boat with some few others, and might have escap'd; but his Sister Maud, who was left behind, begging him to return and take her in, he order'd the Boat's Crew to put back, when such Numbers immediately jump'd in as sunk the Boat, and only some few of the private Sailors sav'd their Lives on the Main Mast, all the rest perish'd to the Number of 140 Persons, most of them great Officers of the Court or Noblemen. Our Historians mention this Accident as a Judgment on these unfortunate People for their Immorality; tho' they seem to have very little Knowledge of most of the Persons that were on Board, or of their Morals. Another Observation made on this Occasion is, that this was a terrible Instance of Divine Vengeance on the Conqueror's Family for their Usurpations and Oppressions; for here, say they, we see a Family, rais'd by a vast Expence of Blood, expiring in the third Inheritor, a Judgment that so sensibly affected the

the King, as they relate, that he never laugh'd afterwards: But however that be, the King thought fit in a very short time after this Accident to marry *Adelicia* the Daughter of *Henry Duke of Lorrain*, a beautiful young Lady, in hopes of repairing the Misfortune by future Issue, in which also he was disappointed, for she brought him no Children.

The *Welsh* were still very troublesome, making their IncurSIONS into the *English* Borders as usual, especially on the side of *Cheshire*, where *Richard* Earl of that County being lately dead, they expected but little Resistance. This oblig'd the King to march in Person again into the Country, where being surrounded in a difficult Pass, he was in imminent Danger, for an Arrow struck upon his Breast-Plate: However, having extricated himself out of this Strait, he compell'd *Griffin* Prince of *North Wales* to give him a thousand Head of Cattle, and Hostages for his peaceable Behaviour for the future. About this time died *Ralph* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a Prelate so jealous of the Rights of the See that he would suffer no Person to set the King's Crown upon his Head, even at a Festival, but himself. The King having suffer'd the See to remain vacant about a Year, summon'd a Council of all the Bishops, Abbots and Nobility, directing them to elect an Archbishop for this See, whereupon *William Corbet* a *Benedictine* Monk was chosen, and afterwards consecrated by the Bishop of *London* and five other Bishops: The Archbishop of *York* refusing to acknowledge the Primacy of *Canterbury* was not suffer'd to assist at the Ceremony.

1121.

The King marries the Princess of *Lorrain*.

1122.

1122.

1123.

The Pope's Legate in England laid his hands upon the Clergy.

The

1123.

W

soT

King

William

the First

of the

Normans

Prince

William

the First

Norman

Prince

William

the First

Norman

Prince

William

the First

Norman

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William

the First

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the First

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Prince

William

the First

Norman

Prince

William

the First

Norman

Prince

The Normans were not yet easy under the Government of the King of England, but were upon the point of revolting and advancing William the Son of Robert to the Dukedom, when the King on a sudden brought over a considerable Force from England, besieged and took the Castle of Pont Audomer, and reinforced the Garrisons of Rouen, Caen and other Fortresses, whereby the Designs of the Disaffected were frustrated. Robert Earl of Mallet, and Hugh Earl of Montfort, with their Adherents, afterwards entering Normandy and destroying the Country with Fire and Sword, were drawn into an Ambuscade by William Earl of Tankerville, Lord Chamberlain and Lieutenant of that Province, and both of them made Prisoners, whereby an End was put to that War.

1124.

Norman

Prince

William

the First

Norman

Prince

William

the First

Norman

Prince

William

the First

Norman

Prince

William

the First

Norman

Prince

William

the First

Norman

Prince

William

the First

Norman

Prince

William

the First

Norman

Prince

William

the First

Norman

Prince

England is said to have suffered very much at this time by heavy Taxes and Famine: The Roads also were much infested by Robbers, and Coiners abounded, whereby the Money was extremely adulterated; but the Chief Justice ordering forty-four Robbers to be hang'd up at one time, and many more of them to be punish'd with the Loss of their Limbs; this rendered travelling safer than it had been: He also condemn'd several to lose their Eyes and Genitals for debasing the Coin, which kind of Punishment it is observ'd was more dreaded than Death it self.

1125.

The

Pope's

Legate

in Eng-

land pro-

hibits the

Clergy

marry-

ing.

The following Year John de Crema, Cardinal Legate, arriv'd in England, in order to put a Stop to that crying Sin of Marriage in the Clergy, which he inveigh'd bitterly against in a Synod held at London, observing how indecent it was for a Priest to rise from a Bed of Lust and touch the Sacrament of the Body

dy of Christ: But this Holy Hypocrite, to his great Mortification, had the Misfortune the very Night following to be taken in Bed with a Lady of Pleasure, which occasion'd the Canons of this Synod for the Celibacy of the Clergy to be very little regarded. The sending a Legate to *England* at this time was look'd upon as an Innovation and an Inroad on the Liberties of the Church of *England*, which had never been under a Legantine Power till now. Some few Years after the King was brought into Measures for enforcing the Canons which requir'd the Celibacy of the Clergy, on Condition he might have the Execution of those Laws in his own Power, whereby he rais'd considerable Sums of Money, for he would License any Priest to retain his Wife who would pay for the Indulgence.

The Empress *Maud* being now a Widow was persuaded by the King her Father to return to *England*, where he caus'd *David* King of *Scotland*, and all the Spiritual and Temporal Nobility, to take an Oath to acknowledge her for their Sovereign after his Decease. The first of the Lay Nobility who took this Oath, 'tis observ'd, was *Stephen* Earl of *Bologna*, and *Morrison* the King's Nephew by his Sister *Adela*, who afterwards usurp'd the Throne. The King also to strengthen his Daughter's Interest on the other side of the Water married her to *Jeoffrey Plantagenet* Earl of *Anjou*, the Son of *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*, who had accepted the Crown of *Jerusalem*. The Empress herself, 'tis said, did not entirely approve of this Match, and the *English* Nobility were disgusted on their not being consulted in the Matter, which some of them af-

terwards

1125.

1127.

The Nation sworn to the Empress *Maud*.

1127.  terwards made a Pretence for breaking the Oath they had taken to the Empress. All these Precautions were taken by the King to secure the Succession of his Daughter the Empress against the Pretensions of *William Clito*, the Son of his eldest Brother *Robert*, whom the *French King* having created Earl of *Flanders*, thereby rendred him very formidable to King *Henry*.

1128. The King of *England*, by way of Retaliation for the Injury he conceiv'd was done him by the *French King* in supporting the Interest of his Nephew *William*, invaded *France*, and oblig'd *Lewis* to withdraw the Troops he had sent to the Assistance of the Prince: He incited an Insurrection also against his Nephew in *Flanders*, encouraging *Theodorick*, Landgrave of *Alsatia* to dispute the Title of that Earldom with him, whereupon *Aloft* and several other Towns revolted from Prince *William*. The Prince having laid Siege to *Aloft*, and defeated the Army which the Landgrave brought to the Relief of it, the Castle was upon the Point of surrendering, when he was unfortunately wounded in the Wrist by a Launce, of which he died within five Days. This Prince, it is said, wanted neither good Sense nor Courage, but was so Covetous that he obtain'd the Name of Miser in the *Flemish* Histories, and to this Vice the Insurrections in his Earldom of *Flanders* are chiefly ascrib'd. King *Henry* by his Death was freed from a formidable Rival, and probably was now very easy in respect to his Daughter's Succession, never dreaming that a more remote Branch of his Family should arise and dispute the Kingdom with her; but as he himself had usurp'd the Throne to the Preju-

William
Clito
kill'd.

1129.
The
Pope's
Legate
in Eng-
land pro-
hibits the
Clergy
marry-
ing

2b15W103

dice

dice of his eldest Brother, so we find his Daughter and Heir afterwards excluded by a Kinsman then unsuspected of having any such View, notwithstanding all the Precautions her Father had taken to secure the Crown to her.

1128.

The King receiv'd no farther trouble from his transmarine Dominions during the residue of his Reign, but made another Voyage to *Normandy*, however, in order to give Pope *Innocent* a Meeting at *Chartres*, where that Prelate had the Address to prevail on the King to acknowledge him for Pope, notwithstanding his Rival *Anacletus* had possess'd himself of *Rome*. The King returning to *England* brought with him his Daughter the Empress, caus'd the *English* Clergy and Nobility to renew their Oaths to the Succession of that Princess, soon after which she return'd to *Anjou* at the desire of that Earl.

1130.

The Year 1132 was remarkable for a terrible Fire, which burnt almost the whole City of *London* down to the Ground. The following Year the Empress was brought to Bed of a Son, baptiz'd by the Name of *Henry*, afterwards King of *England*, whereupon the Spiritual and Temporal Lords were again sworn to the Succession, in which Oath the Infant Prince was included. The latter End of the same Year the King made another Voyage to *Normandy*, but upon what Account does not appear, unless it were to rejoyce with the Empress upon the Birth of her Son. The Day he embark'd, which was the third of *August*, there was such an Eclipse of the Sun that the Stars appear'd, which was look'd upon by the People of those Days as ominous, as well as the Earthquake which happen'd two Days afterwards; but I don't

1132.

1133.

The Na-
tion
sworn to
the Suc-
cession a
3d time.

1133. perceive any great Mischief was done by it, notwithstanding *Malinsbury* says the House he was in was lifted up three times by it, and other Writers relate that Fires issu'd out of the Clefts of the Earth.

1134. The following Year died *Robert Duke of Normandy*, the King's eldest Brother, at *Car diff-Castle* in *Wales*, where he had been imprison'd 26 Years: He was buried in the middle of the Choir of the Cathedral at *Gloucester*, where his Tomb may still be seen. His injurious Brother *K. Henry* did not long survive him, for finding himself exceeding hungry as he was Hunting, he went to Dinner at the Castle of *Lyons* near *Rouen*, where eating greedily of some Lampreys, a Food he was very fond of, he took a Surfeit which occasion'd his Death.

1135. King Henry's Death.

He was attended in his last Illness by *Hugh* Archbishop of *Rouen*, *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester*, his natural Son *William* Earl of *Warren*, and several others of his Ministers and Generals, who desiring him to nominate his Successor, he said he left all his Dominions to his Daughter *Maud* by a lawful and perpetual Succession, but never mention'd her Husband the Earl of *Anjou*, by whom he had been oblig'd; and having order'd his Debts and Servants Wages to be paid, all Fines to be remitted, confiscated Estates restor'd, Exiles to be recall'd from Banishment, and sixty thousand Pounds to be distributed among his stipendiary Knights and Servants, he expir'd, after a Sickness of seven Days, on the 2d Day of *December*, 1135, in the 68th Year of his Age, having reign'd 35 Years and 3 Months: His Corpse was embalm'd, or rather salted, according to the Custom of that Age, and being sent into *England* was buried on *Christ-*

mas-

was-Day at the Abby of *Reading* in *Berkshire* which he had founded and richly endow'd.

1135.

This Prince was moderately tall and well-proportion'd, but something Corpulent; he had fine Eyes and an amiable Countenance; in Conversation he was easy and agreeable; Temperate in eating and drinking; Wise and Brave; he countenanc'd Religion and Justice where his Interests were not concern'd, and was the most learned Prince of the Age. He resided frequently at *Oxford* for the Benefit of Conversation, near which Place he enclosed the Park now call'd *Woodstock*, the first of that Kind in *England*: He erected the Sees of *Ely* and *Carlisle*, with their Cathedrals; the Abbies of *Reading*, *Hildes* and *Cirencester*, and the Priory of *Dunstable*. But notwithstanding the many laudable Qualifications King *Henry* possess'd, he had very great Vices to ballance them; his Avarice and Ambition were unsatiable, as appears by his reducing and detaining the *Dutchy of Normandy* by Force, to which he had no manner of Right; he engag'd the Nation in perpetual Wars to defend this Conquest, oppressing his Subjects with grievous Taxes to maintain them: These he rais'd and levy'd in an arbitrary manner, and frequently demanded more than his Occasions requir'd. The *Welsh* War serv'd as another Pretence for raising Money all his Reign, which small Country, considering his repeated Successes, it is something strange he never entirely subdu'd, unless he chose to let them retain an Appearance of Independancy that he might never want a Colour to keep an Army on Foot, and consequently of taxing his Subjects. Mr. *Rapin* admires the Plenty of these times, because he observes that Bread

His Person and Character.

1135. Corn enough to subsist an hundred Men a whole Day might be purchas'd for a Shilling, a Sheep for a Groat, &c. But other Historians rightly inform us, that this Appearance of Plenty proceeded only from the Scarcity of Coin in those Days, Money being above twenty times the Value it is at present: And in fact, there has not been many Reigns where the Subject was more oppress'd and *impoverish'd* by Taxes than in this, on one Pre-
 tence or other, to instance only in the Portion the King gave with his Daughter *Maud*, which is suppos'd to amount to nine hundred thousand Pounds of our Money. His Cruelty was notorious in the long Imprisonment of his elder Brother, and depriving him of his Territories, supposing he was not guilty of burning out his Eyes, as some Authors relate. As to his Lust, some observe this is evident from his numerous illegitimate Issue; tho' his Friends in mitigation of this Charge say he had all his Children by Concubines whom he kept to himself, and was not vagrant in his Amours like his Predecessor *William Rufus*.

His Issue. His legitimate Issue by *Maud* of Scotland, were a Son nam'd *William*, who perish'd at Sea in his Passage from *France*, as has been related, and *Maud* his Daughter, first married to the Emperor *Henry V.* by whom she had no Issue, and afterwards to *Jeffery Plantagenet* Earl of *Anjou*, by whom she had *Henry II.* afterwards King of *England*, and two other Sons, viz. *Jeffery* and *William*, but neither of these two left any Issue. Of the natural Issue of *Henry I.* twelve Sons surviv'd him, among whom *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester* seems to have been most in his Favour, by his recommending the Interests of his





K. STEPHEN.

his Sister *Maud* to his Care, and leaving part of his Treasure to be distributed by him. 1135.

As to the Title of *Henry I.* some affirm it to be good from the Beginning, for they say, if we admit the Conqueror's Testamentary Power, *Robert* his eldest Son was excluded, and consequently *Henry* was next in Succession after *Rufus*. But I can see no Reason why the Conqueror's appointing his second Son *Rufus* to succeed him, shou'd prejudice the Right of his elder Brother *Robert*, after the Death of *Rufus*, for *Robert* was certainly next Heir to his Brother *Rufus*, as well as to his Father *William I.* and consequently it must be acknowledg'd that *Henry* the youngest Brother was an Usurper at first. But Duke *Robert* in the second Year of his Reign coming to a Treaty with *Henry*, by which he yielded up the Kingdom to him, from thence forward indeed, *Henry's* Title became unexceptionable.

CHAP. XIV.

Contains the Reign of King STEPHEN.

WHEN King *Henry* died, the Empress *Maud*, whom he design'd his Successor, was with her Husband in *Anjou*, and probably was kept ignorant of the Design the King was in during his last Illness, for it appears that the Ministry were in another Interest. *Stephen* Earl of *Balogh*, third Son of *Adela* the late King's Sister, and Grandson of the Conqueror, having been bred up in the Court of *England*, and a Favourite of King *Henry's*, had found Means to ingratiate himself with the great Men in the

1135. the Administration, that they seem'd ready to enter into any Measures he should propose. The King had given this Nobleman the Earldom of *Morigny* in *Normandy*, and conferr'd on him large Possessions in *England*, the Revenues whereof he appll'd towards rendering himself popular; notwithstanding which he was never suspected by the late King of any ambitious Designs. But *Henry* was no sooner dead than he threw off the Mask, and hastned into *England*, pretending his Uncle had appointed him his Successor, (which *Hugh Bigot* late Steward to King *Henry*, made Oath of,) and having assum'd the Regal Title, was Crown'd at *Westminster* on the 26th Day of *December*, being St. *Stephen's* Day, by *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the Presence of some few of the Nobility. This could never have been effected, if *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury*, then Lieutenant of the Kingdom, had not been in *Stephen's* Interest, and declar'd that the Barons were absolv'd from the Oath taken to the Empress by her marrying out of the Kingdom without their Consent. *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, younger Brother to *Stephen*, and a great Favourite of the late King's, also was very instrumental in bringing over the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to his Brother's Party; and as these great Prelates influenc'd the rest of the Clergy, the Temporal Nobility despair'd of opposing the Torrent, not one of them mention'd the Empress, even her Brother *Roger* Earl of *Gloucester* thought fit to recognize *Stephen* with the Crowd, and wait for a more favourable Juncture to set up his Sister's Title. It was an inconceivable Advantage to King *Stephen*, that the Empress did not immediately

arely make her Claim, or give this Prince
any Manner of Disturbance for a considera-
ble Time. This was an unpardonable Neg-
lect, especially if we consider, that *Dover*
and *Canterbury* both declar'd for her at first,
and refus'd to admit *Stephen* within their
Walls.

King *Stephen* however, conscious of his
Rival's Right, and sensible that one Day her
Title would endanger his Possession, endea-
vour'd to secure it by all popular Acts.

He first promis'd, and afterwards took an
Oath to restore the Church to her Rights,
particularly not to take the Temporalities of
the vacant Bishopricks into his Hands; that
he would not seize the Woods of any Clerk
or Layman on Pretence of Hunting, as had
been practis'd in the late Reign; and that he
would remit the odious Tax of *Dane-gilt*,
which had been levied by his Predecessor; he
suffer'd also both the Clergy and Laity to
new model the Oath of Allegiance, and
Swear conditionally; the Clergy to Obey The Ba-
him so long only as he should preserve the rons take
Rights of the Church; and the Laity, so a condi-
long as he should continue to them their Pri- tional
vileges, Honours, and Estates, and keep Oath to
his Coronation Oath. *Stephen.*

The Coronation being over, the King took
possession of the vast Treasures his Predecef-
sor had heap'd up in the Castle of *Winchester*,
amounting to an hundred thousand Pounds.
And having order'd a splendid Funeral for
the late King, he went to meet the Corps in
Person, and attended it to *Reading*, where it
was interr'd.

From thence the King went to *Oxford*,
where for the further Satisfaction of the No-
bility,

1135. ability, he executed a Charter of Privileges in the Preamble whereof, notwithstanding his claiming the Kingdom at first by the Appointment of the late King, he declares here, that he obtain'd the Crown by the Election of the Clergy and People, and that he was confirm'd in his Throne by the present Pope *Innocent*. Then *He grants to the Church, all her Rights, Liberties, and Possessions; and that Ecclesiastical Causes shall only be subject to Ecclesiastical Judicature; that none but the Clergy should intermeddle with the Vacancies of Churches or Churchmens Goods. That all Exactions in relation to the Forests should be abolish'd, and the antient Laws restor'd.* But as a certain Historian observes, since the People had advanc'd him to the Throne, only with a View of enlarging their own Privileges, so the King made these Grants, with no other Design than to engraftiate himself with the People, till his Authority should be establish'd, and never design'd to be bound by these Parchment Fetters, as was evident from his seizing the Temporalities of the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, on the Death of *Corbet*, in the second Year of his Reign, and converting the large Sums of Money that Prelate left behind him, to his own Use, pretending it belong'd to the Crown, on the Archbishop's dying intestate.

The People on the other hand, looking on their Sovereign as a Creature of their own, daily encroach'd on his Prerogatives, every Nobleman almost affecting a kind of Independancy in his Seignory; accordingly they demanded the Liberty of erecting Castles and Fortresses in their several Lands, like so many petty Sovereigns; in which 'tis observ'd

the

K. Stephen's
Charter
of Privi-
leges.

the King very impolitickly indulg'd them: 1135.
 But others inform us, that this Liberty was granted at first only to the King's most trusty Friends, whereby he thought to strengthen himself, in Case the Empress should give him any Disturbance; but that the rest of the Barons demanding the same Privilege, he knew not how to deny them, without endangering a general Revolt, tho' he could not but foresee the fatal Consequence of having great part of the Kingdom fortified against him. He must be sensible the Nobility did not erect these Works with any Intention to defend themselves against Foreign Powers, but to compel the King to make good the Privileges he had granted them, or perhaps dispute his remaining Prerogatives; of which he soon met with an Instance in *Baldwin Redvers* Earl of *Devon*, who being denied some Favour he ask'd, immediately had recourse to Arms, Garrison'd the Castle of *Exeter*, and acted as a petty Sovereign in the neighbouring Country, declaring he would be subject no longer to King *Stephen*. 1136. An Insurrection in the West.

The King thereupon assembled his Army, consisting of *English* and *Flemmings*, and laid Siege to *Exeter*, which he took after an obstinate Defence, that cost him a great deal of Blood and Treasure; after which he banish'd *Baldwin* and his Family, but pardon'd the rest of his Adherents; for which Act of Mercy, our Historians generally agree to condemn his Politicks, as giving Encouragement to future Insurrections. From *Exeter* King *Stephen* march'd against the *Welsh*, who had committed terrible Ravages in the *English* Marches, by way of Revenge for the Losses they had sustain'd in the late Reign;

1136.

and here, it is said, the King receiv'd a great Defeat, such a pannick Fear seizing his Troops, that they surrender'd themselves Prisoners even to the Women. But however that were, it appears that the King had still a considerable Army, with which he march'd against *David* King of *Scotland*, who had invaded *England* at the Instigation of some disaffected Lords, who were Favourers of the Empress. The particular Actions in this War are not enumerated by our Historians, only they relate, that the *Scots* took *Carlisle* and *Newcastle*, and that it terminated in a Peace, wherein it was agreed, that the *Scots* should remain in Possession of *Carlisle*, and that *Henry* the Son of King *David* should have the Earldom of *Huntington*, for which he did Homage to King *Stephen*; the Father refusing to hold it on that Condition, because he had sworn to the Succession of the Empress.

This War was no sooner ended, but the King fell dangerously ill of a Lethargy, and was reported to be dying or dead; whereupon the Friends of the Empress began to lift up their Heads. *Hugh Bigot* also, one that had been the forwardest in promoting *Stephen* to the Crown, giving Credit to the Report of his Death, fortified his Castle of *Norwich*, declaring he would deliver it up to none but the King in Person: At the same Time, *Owen* and *Cadwalador*, the Sons of *Griffith* Prince of *Wales*, made another Incurfion, and carried away a considerable Booty out of *England*. *Normandy* also was in the utmost Confusion, *Geoffrey* Earl of *Anjou*, in Right of his Wife, had enter'd that Province, and several Places had submitted to him, but he

was

was so odious to many of the *Normans*, that upon the Report of *Stephen's* Death, they chose to call in *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*, his elder Brother, offering to acknowledge him for their Sovereign, with whom *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester* join'd, and deliver'd up the County of *Falaise*, in hopes of finding an Opportunity of promoting his Sister *Maud's* Interest by that Means; but King *Stephen* being recover'd, and transporting a good Body of Troops into *Normandy*, partly by Force and partly by his Money, brought over the *Norman* Lords to his Party again. Whereupon Earl *Theobald* thought fit to retire and relinquish his Claim to *Normandy*, in Consideration of an Annual Pension of two thousand Marks. *Geoffery* Earl of *Anjou* also laid down his Arms, in Consideration of a Pension of five thousand Marks: And the King, in order to secure his Dominions on that side for the future, enter'd into an Alliance Offensive and Defensive with the *French* King, and agreed that his Son *Eustace* should do him Homage for *Normandy*; Which was scarce effected, when Intelligence was brought King *Stephen*, that the *English* Lords were in Arms and fortifying their Castles, being confederated with the *Scots*, who had enter'd *Northumberland*, and committed unheard of Barbarities on such of the *English* as refus'd to acknowledge *Maud* the Empress for their Sovereign. King *Stephen* hereupon embark'd for *England* in the midst of Winter, and laid Siege to the Castle of *Bedford*, which had received a *Scottish* Garrison, and having oblig'd them to surrender, he march'd immediately towards the *North*, whereupon *David* King of *Scots* retir'd; but the Disaffection now be-

1137.

1138.

1138. coming almost general in *England*, the King found himself under a Necessity of returning with all Expedition from the North. The Barons to justify their taking up Arms, alledg'd that King *Stephen* had broken his Oaths and Promises, made both to the Clergy and Barons at his Accession, and had no regard to the Charter he granted them. But the Writers of those Times suggest, that tho' there might be a great deal of Truth in this, yet the principal Reason of their Disgust was, that they were not rewarded suitably to their Expectations; their Merit in advancing *Stephen* to the Throne they apprehended to be such, that he ought never to deny them any thing; whoever he preferr'd, the rest imagin'd they had not Justice done them, and infallibly became Malecontents; tho' the Publick Good was ever made the Pretence for their Disaffection, private Interest, it seems, was the principal Inducement to their taking up Arms. But to return, *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester* taking Advantage of the Discontents of the Barons, publickly declar'd for his Sister the Empress, to which, 'tis said, he was urg'd by the Clergy, who did not find the King so tender of their Rights as they expected; whereupon the Earl of *Gloucester* sent a threatening Message to the King, reminding him of the Oath that himself and all of them had taken to the Empress, charging him with the Breach of it, and with drawing all of them into the Guilt of Perjury; nor did he spare to give him the Title of *Usurper*, and declare War against him; and proceeding immediately to Action, seiz'd on *Bristol*, and several other Castles and Fortresses.

A general Insurrection.

The King, it is said, seem'd amaz'd that the same People who had so lately voluntarily plac'd him on the Throne, shou'd so soon attempt to depose him. But whatever King Stephen might think of the Matter, it must be confess'd he had given the People sufficient Provocation, for he had evidently broke through the Charter he granted them at his Accession, and introduc'd Foreigners into his Army and Councils, particularly *William of Tyres* and his *Flemmings*, without whose Advice he scarce transacted any Thing; so that in Fact the Nation was govern'd by a Military Force, consisting of Foreign Troops; and these it cou'd not be expected should have any great Regard to the Laws or Privileges of the Subject. In every Age and every Country where great Bodies of Mercenaries have been maintain'd in constant Pay, the Peoples Liberties have been precarious. The Prince may flatter his Subjects that he only keeps them up to secure himself and them against foreign Invasions; but they are really maintain'd to advance the Prerogative above all Laws, and render the Sovereign as absolute as the Grand Seignior: This is the Sense of of all Mankind that think impartially, and are not govern'd by their Passions or private Interests. But to proceed, A further Provocation given the Barons, was his seizing the Estates and imprisoning the Persons of several of them, on a bare Suspicion of their Disaffection, without any Colour of Law; which so exasperated the rest, that they sent an Invitation to the Empress to come over, promising to acknowledge her for their Sovereign, according to the Oaths they had taken to her Father and her.

1138.



The
Scots de-
feated.

The
Male-
contents
sup-
press'd.

David King of Scotland, in concert with the disaffected *English*, invaded the *North of England* at the same Time; against whom the King sent an Army under the Command of *Tburstan* Archbishop of *York*, while he himself prepar'd to attack the Barons, who were assembling their Troops on every side. The Archbishop of *York* falling Sick while he was on his March towards *Northumberland*, constituted *Ralph* Bishop of the *Orchades* his General; for in this Age, it seems, the same Persons frequently wielded both Spiritual and Temporal Weapons, which they us'd with equal Success, as appears in this Case; for the Right Reverend General upon the Approach of the *Scottish* Army, in the first place, made a very moving Discourse to his Officers, assuring them, that they fought in the Cause of God as well as of their Prince, and absolv'd every Soldier of his Sins who should happen to Die in Battle. Having thus render'd them fearless of Death, he led them to the Charge, and such was their Enthusiastick Fury that they carried all before them. The *Scottish* Army abandon'd their King and his Son Prince *Henry*, who were in great Danger of being made Prisoners.

King *Stephen* was equally successful against the Barons, for by his Vigilance he prevented the Conjunction of their Troops, so that they had no Opportunity of taking the Field, but were oblig'd to shut themselves up in their respective Castles; of which the King having taking the most considerable, as those of *Hereford*, *Gloucester*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Bristol*, Earl *Robert* was forc'd to leave the Kingdom again, and

and take Refuge in *France*, and the rest of the Barons thereupon laid down their Arms: On which Success the King march'd in Person towards *Scotland*; but King *David* proposing a Treaty on the Approach of the *English* Army, *Stephen* considering the unsettled Condition of his Affairs did not think fit to reject the Offer, and a Peace was soon after concluded between the two Nations. During this Treaty King *Stephen* contracted such a Friendship with Prince *Henry* of *Scotland* that he brought him back with him into *England*, and the young Prince assisted at the Siege of several of the Barons Castles, particularly that of *Ludlow*, where he was in Danger of being pull'd off his Horse by a Hook let down from the Walls, if the King in Person had not rescu'd him, to the great Hazard of his Life. A Synod was assembled at *Westminster* about this time by *Alberic* the Pope's Legate, where *Theobald* Abbot of *Bec* in *Normandy* was unanimously elected Archbishop of *Canterbury*, which See had been vacant above two Years.

The King having reduc'd the Temporal Differences Barons under his Power, was still disgusted at the proud and arrogant Behaviour of the Bishops, who never appear'd at Court without a numerous Retinue of armed Servants, and every Day built and fortified their Castles as if they intended to render themselves independent of his Government: Among those none were more obnoxious than *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury*, who had been most instrumental in the setting the Crown upon his Head; tho' he was now suspected of being in the Interest

1138.

terest of the Empress, together with his Nephew *Alexander* Bishop of *Lincoln*, and *Niger* Bishop of *Ely*, another of his Nephews. *Roger* having acquir'd a vast Fortune during the time he was Prime Minister and Lieutenant of the Kingdom in the late Reign, had in this built a Castle of great Strength and Beauty at the *Devizes* in *Wiltshire*, and another at *Sherburn*; he had very near finish'd a third at *Malmesbury*, and a fourth at *Salisbury*. His Nephew the Bishop of *Lincoln* had built a Castle at *Newark*, which he did not scruple to declare was to defend the Rights of his Bishoprick; and the Bishop of *Ely* had built another Castle, little inferior to any of them. This created no small Jealousy in the King, which was augmented by the Insinuations of some of their Enemies among the Temporal Barons, who could not bear to see the Clergy appear in such Splendour.

While the King was waiting for some Pretext to lessen the Power of these Prelates, a Council of the Spiritual and Temporal Lords was summon'd to be held at *Oxford*, where the Servants of the Bishop of *Salisbury*, and those of the Earl of *Bretagne*, coming to take up Quarters for their respective Masters in the same Part of the Town, a Quarrel happen'd between them, in which a Knight belonging to the Earl of *Bretagne* was kill'd, and his Servants driven out of the Lodgings they had taken up by the Bishop of *Salisbury*'s People, who had call'd the Servants of the Bishops of *Lincoln* and *Ely* to their Assistance.

Complaint being made to the King on this Occasion, he summon'd the three Bishops to appear and answer for the Riot their Servants had committed, and upon their Attendance commanded them to deliver up their Castles as a Security for their good Behaviour. The Bishops offer'd to make Satisfaction for the Injury their Servants had done; but refusing to surrender their Castles, the King order'd them to be taken into Custody, together with Roger then Chancellor of *England*, who was Son to the Bishop of *Salisbury* by a Concubine; and the Castle of the *Devizes*, whither the Bishop of *Ely* had made his Escape, refusing to open her Gates to the King's Troops, the Bishop of *Salisbury* was led up to the Walls with his Son the Chancellor, (the latter being in Fetters) where the Soldiers threatening to put them to Death unless the Garrison surrender'd, the Castle was yielded up; and by the same Stratagem the King made himself Master of those of *Sherburn*, *Salisbury* and *Malmesbury*, and the Bishop of *Lincoln* obtain'd his Liberty by delivering up the Castle of *Sleaford*. The King finding a great deal of Treasure in the Bishop of *Salisbury*'s Castles, apply'd part of it with such Success at the Court of *France*, that King *Lewis* enter'd into an Alliance with him, and marry'd his Sister *Constantia* to *Eustace* King *Stephen*'s Son, by which Means he look'd upon himself as secure of the Assistance of *France* in all Events: And had he not provok'd the Clergy by those late Acts of Violence, scarce any Thing could have shaken his Throne; but it was not to be expected that a Body of Men so considerable for their Wealth and Influence, and who had been so instrumental in advancing

1139.

The Kingimprisons 3 of the Bishops and seizes their Castles.

1139.



cing this very Prince to the Throne, for no other Reason than his engaging by the most solemn Oaths not to invade the Rights and Privileges of the Church, should suffer their Brethren to be arbitrarily imprison'd, and their Estates and Effects seiz'd by the King, without any legal Process commenc'd against them: Accordingly we find the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Pope's Legate, notwithstanding he was Brother to the King, so highly relent this Usage of the Bishops, that he immediately assembled a Synod at *Winchester*, where the King was summoned to appear.

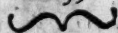
The
King
sum-
mon'd
before a
Synod to
answer it.

The Legate open'd the Council with a Speech, wherein he enumerated the Violences committed against the Bishops, desiring them to consider what was to be done in a Case where the Rights of the Church were so notoriously invaded, declaring he would see the Decrees of the Synod executed at the Hazard of his Brother's Friendship, his Estate and Life. The King having deputed some Noblemen to attend the Synod, they demanded upon what Account the King was conven'd thither. The Legate answer'd, He was guilty of a Crime scarce known in that Age, and as he was a Christian ought not to think it strange that he was summon'd by the Ministers of Christ to make Satisfaction for what he had done, advising him either to justify his Proceedings or submit to the Judgment of the Canons. Whereupon *Auberie de Vera*, a Civilian retain'd by the King's Agents, charg'd the three Bishops as Movers of Sedition, and corresponding with the King's Enemies (of which however our Historians do not suggest there was any manner of Proof.) The King's Advocate urg'd further, that they

they were not apprehended as Bishops, but as the King's Servants; and that their Castles were not taken from them, but voluntarily surrendred as a Composition for their Crimes. Whereupon, 'tis said, the Bishop of *Salisbury* deny'd that they were the King's Servants, adding, if he could not meet with Justice in this Synod he would appeal to a higher Court.

The Archbishop of *Rouen*, who was also the King's Advocate on this Occasion, maintain'd, *that the Bishops might justly be depriv'd of their Castles, the Building of which the Canons did not justify; adding, that they ought to be Evangelists of Peace, and not erect Fortresses to be Sanctuaries of Disloyalty.* To which the Legate very justly answer'd, that if the Bishops were guilty of any Disloyalty it ought to be duly prov'd, and the King ought to reinvest them in their Estates till Sentence was pronounc'd against them; they were not so much as oblig'd to plead by the Law of Nations while they remain'd illegally disseiz'd of their Estates; and the Synod proceeding to threaten the King with Excommunication, and with sending a Deputation from their Body to the Court of *Rome* to obtain a Ratification of the Sentence, the King's Advocates answer'd, if they presum'd to send any Bishops or others to the Court of *Rome*, contrary to the King's Will and the Laws of the Kingdom, their Return would be very difficult, whereupon the Business of the Excommunication was dropp'd, and the Synod dissolv'd, after a Session of three Days. The Legate and the Archbishop afterwards threw themselves at the King's Feet, desiring he would be merciful to the Church and his own

1139.



An In-
surrecti-
on in be-
half of
the Em-
press
Maud.

Soul, and not suffer a Breach to be made be-
tween the Secular and Ecclesiastical Powers.

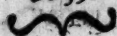
The Barons and People observing the Con-
tention run so high between the King and the
Bishops, generally took part with the latter,
whereupon a general Insurrection ensu'd in
behalf of the Empress *Maud*, and she ven-
tur'd over into *England*, in the Company of
her Brother the Earl of *Gloucester*, with no
more than an hundred and forty Men for her
Guard, and Landing at *Arundel* Castle in
September, 1139, was entertain'd there by
Adelisa the Queen Dowager. Here the Earl
of *Gloucester* leaving his Sister, march'd
through the Country as far as *Bristol*, with
only twelve Knights and their Servants.
King *Stephen* hearing the Empress was Land-
ed, as he lay before *Marlbro'* Castle, im-
mediately rais'd the Siege, and march'd to-
wards *Arundel*, investing that Castle so close-
ly that it had been impossible for the Empress
to have made her Escape. But the Queen
Dowager declaring she knew nothing of her
Landing, and entertain'd her only as a Re-
lation, and desiring the Empress might either
remain in Security under her Roof or be suf-
fer'd to retire to her Friends, the King con-
sented to her being convoy'd to *Bristol*, either
because he apprehended the Castle might be
reliev'd before he could make himself Master
of it, or he did not care to make an Enemy
of the Queen, or from some other Motive
which our Historians have not thought fit to
mention. But however that was, the Empress
having remain'd two Months at *Bristol*, af-
terwards remov'd to *Gloucester*, and so well
improv'd her Time, that before the end of the

the Year, almost all the *West* declar'd for her.

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The Kingdom was now miserably divided, the nearest Relations were in opposite Interests, Brother against Brother, and the Father frequently against the Son, as is too often the Case in Civil Broils; nothing but Plunder, Burning, and Devastation was to be seen throughout the Kingdom; every Baron and Governor of a Castle acted as a Petty Sovereign within his District, and many of them Coin'd their own Money. Nor was it in the Power either of the Empress or the King to redress these Enormities; neither of them had any Regular Supplies to support them, and consequently were oblig'd to wink at the Ravages of their Troops. As the King's Troops were compos'd of *Flemings*, *Normans*, or *Britons*, all Foreigners, they made little Distinction in their Devastations between Friend and Foe. However the War had soon been at an end, if the Clergy had remain'd steady to the Empress; but this Princess discovering no great Inclination for that Order, and insisting too haughtily on her Prerogatives before she had possess'd herself of the Throne, this occasion'd several of the Bishops and Barons to grow very cool in her Cause: The Bishop of *Winchester*, the Pope's Legate, particularly, who had been very Instrumental in raising this Storm against his Brother, beginning to reflect that if the Empress succeeded, he should probably be involv'd in the same Ruin with him, on a sudden chang'd Hands; and by way of Compensation for his Revolt, having invited several of the principal Lords in the Interest of the Empress to an Entertainment, made them

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them all Prisoners, and deliver'd them up to King *Stephen*, who found his Affairs so mended by this sudden Turn, that he was in a Condition to lay Siege to *Wallingford* Castle, whither the Empress and the Earl of *Gloucester* had retir'd. But the King meeting with greater Difficulties in the Siege than he expected, turn'd the Siege into a Blockade, and Invested the Town of *Malmsbury*; whereupon both the Empress and the Earl found Means to get out of *Wallingford* unperceiv'd. The Earl soon after besieg'd and took the City of *Worcester*, and his Adherents the Town of *Nottingham*. The Empress however to secure herself till she cou'd discern what Success her Friends were like to have, shut up herself in *Lincoln*, which she stor'd with all manner of Provisions. But King *Stephen* bending his March that way, she immediately abandon'd it, suffering the Enemies Troops to take Possession of the Town.

The King having miss'd of surprizing the Empress did not make any long stay at *Lincoln*, or think it worth his while to leave a Garrison in the Place: Whereupon *Ranulph* Earl of *Chester*, with his Countess the Daughter of the Earl of *Gloucester*, and his Brother, came thither, intending to have kept their *Christmas* in that City; but the Inhabitants, who were many of them in the Interest of *Stephen*, immediately sent him Intelligence of it, assuring him it would be a very easy Matter to make the Earl of *Chester* and his Friends Prisoners. The King no sooner received this Advice, but he march'd with such Troops as he could draw together on the sudden, in order to invest *Lincoln*; of which the

the Earl of *Chester* however had so much Notice given him as to make his Escape, before the Enemy had block'd up all the Avenues, but his Wife and Brother remain'd shut up in the Castle, and must have fallen into the Hands of the Enemy, if the Earl of *Gloucester*, upon Advice of the Distress they were in, had not join'd his Forces with those of *Ramulph*, and march'd with the utmost Expedition to their Relief. The two Earls with their Troops having boldly forded the River *Witham* on *Candlemas-Day*, came so suddenly upon the King, as he lay before *Lincoln*, that it was impossible for him to make a regular Retreat, which he would otherwise probably have done, being very much inferior to his Enemies in Numbers; however he put the best Face upon the Matter, and drew up his Army in as good Order as could be expected from an accomplish'd General, considering the Surprize he was in, and the Weakness of his Forces, and in order to encourage his Men to behave themselves gallantly, he fought himself on Foot, at the Head of his Infantry, receiving the Enemy's Charge with great Firmness; but his Horse, who were compos'd of Foreigners, abandoning the Foot, a total Rout ensued, and the King refusing to turn his Back, was left almost alone in the Field and taken Prisoner. If we may Credit the Writers of those Times, he refus'd to surrender when his Battle-Ax and Sword were broken in pieces, a Circumstance which possibly some Admirers of this Prince have thrown in to shew his Intrepidity, and if true, is no great Argument of his Prudence, or even Courage, for where was the Bravery of exposing his Person when he

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1141.

The Battle of Lincoln.

was

1141. was disarm'd, the Day lost, and no possibility of retrieving it, this was only to throw away a Life in a Passion, which might one Day be (and in this Case actually was) of great Use to his Friends: The brutish Fierceness which, 'tis said, the King shew'd on this Occasion [*foaming with Rage, and refusing his Life when offer'd him*] surely can add but little to his Character, how much soever they intended it to his Honour. But to proceed, **King Stephen** being made Prisoner, was confin'd in the Castle of *Bristol*, and handsomely us'd at first, but either out of a Spirit of Revenge, or to prevent his Escape, 'tis said, he was afterwards laid in Irons.

**King
Stephen
taken
Prisoner.**

And now, notwithstanding the Empress was generally recogniz'd by the *English* as their Sovereign, she did not think fit to take upon her the Title of *Queen of England*, but still retain'd that of *Empress* or *Queen of the Romans*, as appears by a Broad Seal affix'd to the Grant she made to *Geoffery de Mandeville* and his Heirs, of the Custody of the Tower of *London*.

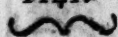
Kent was now the only Country that adher'd to King *Stephen*, where *Matilda*, *Stephen's* Queen, and *William de Ypres*, General of the Foreigners, had still a good Body of Troops.

All the rest of the Kingdom submitted to the Empress, as did likewise *Normandy* to the Earl of *Anjou* her Husband. *David* King of *Scotland* also declar'd for her; but still the Queen did not think herself establish'd till she had secur'd the Pope's Legate the Bishop of *Winchester* in her Interest: She made this Prelate large Offers therefore, and took an Oath, that if he and the Clergy would Recognize

nize her Title, the Bishop should have the Administration of all Affairs of State, and the Disposal of all Bishopricks and Abbies, to which the Earl of Gloucester and several of the Nobility also gave their Assents. The Bishop, and some of his Brethren thereupon, took the Oath of Allegiance to the Empress, but conditionally, as they had done to Stephen, that they wou'd obey her as long as she kept her Promises. The next Day the Empress went in solemn Procession to the Cathedral of Winchester, where the Legate curs'd those who curs'd her, and bless'd those who bless'd her; absolving her Adherents, and excommunicating her Enemies. From Winchester she remov'd with her Court to Wilton, and was recogniz'd by Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury; and a general Synod of the Clergy being conven'd soon after, the Legate who had first prepar'd the Members in private, made a Speech, where in he observ'd, that The Nation had all sworn in the late Reign to the Succession of the Empress, but that she being absent at The King's Death, his Brother was admitted to the Crown for the Preservation of the Publick Peace; that himself had been a Pledge for his Brother's maintaining the Rights of the Church and the Lands of the Land; but it was with Grief and Shame he confess'd his Misbehaviour in these Respects, for the Bishops had been imprison'd and dispossest of their Estates, Abbies sold, the Churches plunder'd, and the Peace of the Nation destroy'd. That he had conven'd Stephen before a Synod, but to no purpose, he gain'd nothing by it but his Hatred; and tho' he ought indeed to love his Mortal Brother, yet much more his Immortal Father; therefore, seeing God had entreated his

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King
Stephen
taken
Prisoner

Judgments against him, by giving him into the Hands of his Enemies; lest the Kingdom should be ruin'd for want of a Governor, he had call'd them together by Virtue of his Legantine Power, and the Case having been propounded of private, to the greatest Part of the Clergy of England, (to whom of Right it belong'd to elect and ordain Kings) after invoking the Divine Assistance, they had elected Matilda (the Daughter of the peaceable, glorious, and incomparable King Henry) Queen of England. To which all that were present assented, or at least were silent, and did not think fit to contradict what had been asserted so positively by the Legate: Whereupon he proceeded to inform them, that he had summon'd the City of London to this Assembly, and that their Deputies would be there the next Day, as they actually were; but when they appear'd, they declar'd that they came for no other End than to petition that their Lord the King might be releas'd out of Prison, which they said was also the Desire of the Barons, with whom they were confederated. The Legate answer'd, that it became not the Citizens of London, who were esteem'd as Noblemen in England, to join with such Barons as had deserted their King in Battle, render'd the Holy Church contemptible; and now united themselves with the Citizens only for their own Advantage. After which a Chaplain to King Stephen's Queen offer'd the Legate a Letter from her, but he refusing to read it, the Chaplain ventur'd to read it audibly himself; wherein the Queen entreated the Clergy, and especially the Bishop of Winchester the King's Brother, to deliver him out of Prison, and reinstate him on his Throne. But the Legate was not

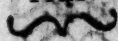
But the Legate was not

to be mov'd: On the contrary, several of the King's Adherents were excommunicated in this Synod. 1141.

From *Wilton* the Empress went to *Reading*, and from thence to *Oxford*, she afterwards advanc'd as far as *St. Albans*, where a Deputation met her from the City of *London*, offering to submit and recognize her Title; whereupon she mov'd forward, and in solemn Procession enter'd the City of *Westminster*, being receiv'd every where with the loud Acclamations of the People, who now look'd upon King *Stephen's* Cause as desperate. His Queen *Matilda*, and his best Friends solicited only for his Liberty, offering to give Hostages for his Exporting himself beyond Sea, and remaining within the Walls of a Monastery for the rest of his Life; but the Empress would hearken to no Proposals of this Kind; and the Legate petitioning her only that his Nephew *Eustace*, King *Stephen's* Son, might enjoy his Father's Lands in *Normandy*, 'tis observ'd, she very impolitickly deny'd the Request, which that Prelate highly resented. The Citizens of *London* also began to appear Disaffected again, upon her denying to confirm the Confessor's Laws, and many of the Nobility were ready to join them, whom she had treated with some Contempt, insomuch that a Conspiracy was set on Foot while she remain'd in the Neighbourhood of *London*, to seize her Person and set the King at Liberty; which the Empress having Intelligence of, retir'd suddenly in the Night and went to *Oxford*, this City having generally been firm to her Interest.

The Legate, already disgusted (as has been related) and further provok'd by being ex-

1141.



cluded from the Administration of Affairs, once again went over to his Brother's Interest, and joining with King *Stephen's* Queen and Son, the disaffected Barons, and the City of *London*; he proceeded to excommunicate the Empress's Adherents, and absolv'd all King *Stephen's* Friends, directly contrary to what he had done but a very little Time before; alledging in his Excuse that the Empress had broken her Oath made to the Barons, and the Oath of Allegiance being conditional they were absolv'd from their Allegiance to her.

The Empress thereupon assembled her Troops, and joining her Brother the Earl of *Gloucester*, march'd towards *Winchester*, together with *David* King of *Scotland*; but before she proceeded to Acts of Hostility, she sent to desire a Conference with the Bishop, and wou'd gladly have been reconcil'd to him, knowing how much depended on his Influence. But this Prelate, either suspecting her Sincerity, or having been too highly provok'd, sent her a doubtful Answer, and while she was considering what Measures to take, made hast out of the City, and join'd the Barons of King *Stephen's* Party, and finding their Forces more numerous than those of the Empress, he immediately march'd back with them to *Winchester*, on whose approach the Empress and Earl *Robert* abandon'd the City and retir'd into the Castle. The Bishop was so exasperated against the Citizens, who had appear'd heartily in the Cause of the Empress, that he order'd the City to be set on Fire, by which above twenty Churches and Convents, and the greatest Part of the Town were laid in Ashes. He afterwards laid Siege

to the Castle, which having held out two Months, and Provisions for the numerous Garrison beginning to fall short, it was resolv'd to make a general Sally, and force their Way with their Swords thro' the Army of the Besiegers; and in the Execution of this brave Resolution, the Empress herself had the good Fortune to escape with many others, but her Brother the Earl of The *Gloucester*, who brought up the Rear, was taken Prisoner and carried back to *Winchester*, from whence he was sent to *Rocheſter*, the better to be secur'd. The Empress in the mean Time came to the Castle of *Lutgershal*, and from thence went to the Castle of the *Devizes*, where still apprehending herself in Danger, she remov'd to *Gloucester*, or as some relate, was carried thither in a Coffin to prevent Suspicion.

Great Endeavours were us'd by King *Stephen*'s Queen to bring over the Earl of *Gloucester* to his Interest; but he was not to be mov'd either by Threats or Promises, and about six Months after the Earl's Confinement, he was exchang'd for King *Stephen*.

King
Stephen
and the
Earl of
Gloucester
exchang'd.

The Legate having conven'd another Synod at *Westminster*, read a Letter to the Assembly he had receiv'd from the Pope, wherein his Holiness reprimands him for not asserting his Brother's Cause more strenuously, requiring him to use all his Power Ecclesiastical and Secular, to establish him on the Throne: And the King complaining in the Synod, that he had been imprison'd and treated with Scorn by his Subjects; the Legate replied, that he had been compell'd by Force to recognize the Empress; that she had broken all the Promises she had made, and contriv'd

1142.

1142.



contriv'd to deprive him of his Dignity and Life, but God had defeated her Designs, and having freed the King his Brother from Imprisonment, he commanded them in the Name of God and the Pope to assist the King with all their Power, who was anointed by the Choice of the People, and the Consent of the Apostolick See, declaring he would excommunicate all who adher'd to the Empress. To which an Agent belonging to the Empress had the Courage to answer, and conjure the Legate by the Fealty he had sworn to the Empress, not to act against her, declaring that she came over to *England* by the Legate's Invitation, and that the King was imprison'd by his Advice. But the Legate did not think fit to give any Answer to the Charge.

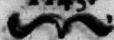
The Earl of *Gloucester* finding his Sister's Forces inferior to those of the Enemy, went over into *Normandy* to solicit a Reinforcement from the Earl of *Anjou*, who sent over his Son Prince *Henry* with some Recruits, but not sufficient to re-establish the Empress's Affairs, who in the mean Time was besieg'd in *Oxford*, and once more in danger of falling into King *Stephen's* Hands, if she had not escap'd by a Stratagem. It was at this Time the Depth of Winter, and the Ground cover'd with Snow, whereupon this Princess without regard to the Tenderness of her Sex, cloath'd herself and some few of her Servants in White, and at a Time when it snow'd very hard, fled out at a Postern, and pass'd the Sentinels undiscover'd, after which she march'd on Foot, over Hedge and Ditch, out of any Road or Track, as far as *Abington*, which is five Miles, where the same Night

Night she took Horse and arriv'd at *Wallingford*, to the Admiration both of Friends and Foes. 1142.

The Earl of *Gloucester*, who had laid Siege to the Castle of *Warbam*, in hopes of drawing King *Stephen* from the Siege of *Oxford*, having taken that Fortrefs, repair'd to *Wallingford* to the Empreſs, carrying with him her Son Prince *Henry*, which gave her no leſs Joy than the Escape ſhe had lately made with ſo much Difficulty and Hazard.

Our Hiſtorians, who generally follow *Malmſbury*, take Notice that he concludes his Hiſtory here. He is look'd upon as one of the moſt Judicious of the Monkish Writers; *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester*, who made ſuch a Figure in theſe Wars, it ſeems, was his Patron; but ſtill I do not find him charg'd with Partiality in the Relation he gives us of this Civil War. We have but very imperfect Accounts of the Tranſactions of the five following Years; the Sword was become ſo much the Profeſſion, even of the Eccleſiaſticks, that no body ſeems to have had any Inclination or Leiſure to record the numerous Actions that happen'd between the contending Parties, either in the Cabinet or in the Field. Indeed our Friend *Rapin* inſinuates, that he had met with an Account of them ſomewhere, but he did not think them worth relating. I could wiſh this knowing Gentleman had been ſo good as to have referr'd us to his Authors where theſe Things are to be met with; for there are a great many Gentlemen of no mean Figure, that ſeem to lament this Chasm in the Hiſtory of thoſe Times. But to proceed, We find that in the Year 1143, King *Stephen* was preſent at a Synod,

1143.



Synod, (or rather great Council of the Clergy and Barons) wherein it was declar'd, That if any Man should lay violent Hands upon a Person in Holy Orders, he should not be absolv'd but by the Pope himself, and in his Presence. Which was of infinite Advantage to the Ecclesiasticks; for notwithstanding the Laity were in the utmost Confusion, harass'd and plunder'd every Day almost by one side or other; the Persons and Possessions of all who had any relation to the Church became inviolable, unless they made War their Profession, and were actually in Arms. Among other Occurrences also it appears, that Oxford capitulated and Surrendred to King Stephen upon Terms; that the Tower of London, the Castles of *Walden* and *Plassey*, and afterwards *Lincoln* were yielded up to Stephen. On the other Hand, that *Wilton* was burnt by the Earl of *Gloucester*, and the Castles of *Warham* and *Portland* surrender'd to the Empress; that the Earls of *Chester* and *Essex* were surpriz'd by King Stephen, or according to others, treacherously seiz'd on and imprison'd, at a time they were invited by him to a Conference. And on the other Hand, the King's great Favourite *William Muriel* was made Prisoner by the Earl of *Gloucester*. That during this Space also, *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester*, and *Miles* Earl of *Hereford*, the last of whom was created Earl by Patent from the Empress, lost their Lives, the one by Sickness, and the other by an Accident: Whereupon the Empress despairing of Success, sent her Son Prince *Henry* back to *Normandy*, and soon after follow'd him in Person. But History does not inform us of the particular Times when these several Occurrences happen'd,

pen'd any further than that they were transacted between the Years 1142 and 1147. 1143.

King *Stephen* having driven the Empress his Competitor out of the Kingdom, the Nation in general submitted to him, many of the Barons swearing to the Succession of his Son *Eustace*; and the King residing with his Court at *Lincoln*, was there either Crown'd again, or at least wore his Crown at some solemn Festival, in Contempt of a superstitious Prophecy, 'tis said, which threatned Death or some uncommon Judgment on the King who should presume to wear his Crown in that City. 1147. The Empress driven out of England by King Stephen.

The King having been very much oblig'd to the Pope and Clergy for his Establishment, found himself under a Necessity of submitting to whatever the See of *Rome* should think fit to direct, in relation to Ecclesiastical Matters: Accordingly we don't find that he oppos'd Pope *Eugene* when he depriv'd *William* Archbishop of *York*, because he had been nominated by the King, and commanded the Chapter of *York* to make another Election, the latter Choice falling upon *Henry Murdac*, Abbot of the Monastery of *Fountains*. About this time the Empress sent her Son over to *England* again to try his Fortune; he was about sixteen Years of Age, and landing with a small but select Body of Men, he first join'd the Earl of *Chester*, who not long before had been releas'd by King *Stephen*, on Condition of yielding up some of his Castles into his Hands. *Roger* the Son of the deceased *Milo* also, with several of the Barons who had formerly been in Arms for the Empress, came over to him; whereupon he march'd Northwards to concert Matters with his Cousin

1149.

1149.

David King of Scotland, and was Knighted by him in a solemn manner, as was usual in those times when Princes first made Arms their Profession. The Prince having assembled his Forces, 'tis said, did all that lay in his Power to provoke King *Stephen* to come to an Engagement, from whence one would be inclin'd to think his Troops were superior to those of the Enemy: And yet it don't appear there was any Action before he embark'd for *Normandy* again, which makes it evident that there are very great Defects and Omissions in the History of these times. The Prince had been return'd but a very little time to *Normandy* before his Father *Geoffry* dy'd, whereby he became possess'd both of the Dutchy of *Normandy* and the Earldom of *Anjou*. His Mother the Empress, for some Considerations we are unacquainted with, seems from this time to have resign'd all her Interest, both in *Normandy* and *England*, to the Prince her Son, who was so fortunate in the 18th Year of his Age to marry *Eleanor* the Dutchesse of *Guienne*, (*Aquitain*) and Heiress of *Poitou*, whom *Lewis* the French King had divorc'd after she had had two Daughters by him, on pretence of Consanguinity, but in reality on suspicion of an Intrigue between her and a certain Nobleman when she was with him in *Palestine* at a late Crusade, as may be seen in the 11th Vol. of *Modern History*, p. 385.

King *Stephen* apprehensive that Prince *Henry* being possess'd of such large Territories on the other side the Water would one Day bid fair for the Crown of *England*, the better to secure it to his Son *Eustace*, propos'd in a Grand Council of the Clergy and Barons held at *London* to have his Son Crown'd in his life-
time;

time; but to his great Mortification *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury* absolutely refus'd to Crown him, declaring that the Pope had forbidden it, which so exasperated the King that he made all the Bishops Prisoners in one House, from whence the Archbishop escaping into *Normandy*, the King seiz'd on his Revenues. In the mean time the King of *France*, who was likewise Jealous of the growing Greatness of Prince *Henry*, attack'd his Dominions on the Continent in concert with *Eustace*; but Prince *Henry* maintain'd his Ground against their united Forces, and oblig'd them to retire.

King *Stephen* on the other Hand assembled his Army in *England*, and marching against the disaffected Clergy and Barons reduc'd several of their Castles; till Prince *Henry*, now having his Hands at Liberty, brought his Friends a Reinforcement of Troops from *Normandy*, and march'd to the Relief of *Wallingford*, which was then besieg'd by King *Stephen's* Troops, where surrounding the Enemy with a Trench, he in a manner besieg'd the Besiegers. The King hereupon march'd in Person to the Assistance of his Forces before *Wallingford*; but as he was drawing up his Army to attack Prince *Henry*, his Horse rais'd himself three times on his hinder Legs, and at length fell backwards with him, to the great Hazard of the King's Life: Upon which Accident, 'tis said, *William* Earl of *Arundel* took an Opportunity to represent, that he look'd upon the thing as Ominous, and advis'd the King not to engage any more in so ill a Cause. He observ'd, that abundance of near Relations were here unnaturally drawn up against each other, ready to sheath their Swords

1149. in one anothers Bowels, and therefore urg'd with some warmth that the King would rather make an End of the Dispute by a Treaty; whereupon the King demanding an Interview with Prince *Henry*, they met upon the Banks of the *Thames* near *Wallingford*, where the River is so narrow that two People may Converſe together croſs it; and it was agreed that there ſhould be a Ceſſation of all Hoſtilities. At which *Euſtace* the King's Son was ſo diſguſted, 'tis ſaid, that he withdrew from the Army with a ſmall Party and march'd to the Monastery of *St. Edmund's Bury*, where he was entertain'd by the Monks; but the Fathers reſuſing him a Sum of Money he demanded of them, he order'd all the Corn in their Storehouſes to be ſeiz'd, (others ſay he commanded the Corn growing in their Fields to be burnt, which muſt be a Miſtake, becauſe it was then the depth of Winter) and that ſitting down to Dinner he was choak'd with the firſt Bit of Meat he put into his Mouth. But however that was, it is agreed on all Hands that *Euſtace* dy'd about this time in the 19th Year of his Age, and was buried by his Mother *Matilda* (who dy'd ſome little time before) in the Abby of *Feverſhame*, leaving no Iſſue by his Wife *Conſtance* the Daughter of *Lewis the Fat*.

Euſtace
King
Stephen's
Son dies.

The Truce being expir'd the War was renew'd; when ſeveral of the Barons who had hitherto adher'd to *Stephen* went over to Prince *Henry*, who had the good Fortune alſo to recover ſeveral conſiderable Caſtles, as thoſe of *Warwick*, *Reading*, *Stamford*, &c. The King therefore finding his Affairs decline, began to hearken to the Advice of his Brother the Legate, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who

who were very earnest with him to give the Nation some rest, by concluding a Peace after it had been so long harrafs'd by an unnatural Civil War; and the like Application having been made to Prince *Henry*, both of them agreed jointly to summon a Grand Council to meet at *Winchester* to advise with on this important Occasion; wherein it was at length agreed that King *Stephen* should enjoy the Crown during his Life, and that Prince *Henry* should succeed him; in Pursuance whereof *Stephen* adopted the Prince his Son, and caus'd *William* his own Son to swear to the Succession of Prince *Henry*, as did also the Bishops and Barons who were Members of the Council; after which the King and Prince *Henry* visited several Parts of the Kingdom together, particularly the Cities of *London*, *Oxford* and *Canterbury*, where they were received with the Applauses and Congratulations of the People, of whose Sincerity there is no Reason to doubt after they had so long suffer'd all the Miseries of a Civil War.

A Peace
made be-
tween
King
Stephen
and
Prince
Henry.

But in the midst of all this Joy, Prince *William*, *Stephen*'s Son, who was the most considerable Loser by the Peace, 'tis said, form'd a Conspiracy against Prince *Henry*'s Life, which was to have been executed by some of the *Flemish* Troops in King *Stephen*'s Service; but Prince *William* happening to break his Leg the Conspiracy was timely discover'd; however Prince *Henry* did not think it expedient to remain longer on this side the Water, and therefore having taken leave of King *Stephen*, he embark'd for *Normandy* not long after.

The King now reigning in Peace, apply'd himself with great Diligence to redress the
Evils

1154.

King
Stephen
dies.

Evils the late War had introduc'd, and render his Subjects a flourishing People; but before he could bring his Schemes to bear, he was taken dangerously ill of the Emroids, a Distemper he was subject to, and died on the 25th of *October*, 1154, in the fiftieth Year of his Age, after he had reign'd eighteen Years and something more than nine Months, and experienc'd a great Variety of good and bad Fortune.

His Per-
son and
Char-
acter.

This Prince was tall and well made, of a most engaging Address; he appears also to have been brave and generous, and very far from a cruel revengeful Disposition, not having put one Man to Death in his Reign in cold Blood, tho' he was the Occasion of innumerable Ravages and Murders by his Usurpation of the Throne, and by way of Composition for these Evils possibly it was that he founded several Abbies, particularly those of *Cogshall*, *Farnes* and *Feverham*, with the Nunneries of *Carew* and *Higham*, which some have look'd upon as an Argument of his Piety. But how can Piety consist with those continual Wars, Devastations and Blood-shed, which his Usurpation and Injustice occasion'd?

His Title.

And this brings me to consider his Title. Our Friend *Rapin*, indeed, seems to make it a Doubt whether his Title was not to be prefer'd to that of the Empress, the only Daughter of his Predecessor, to whose Succession King *Stephen* himself, and all the Barons both Spiritual and Temporal, had three times sworn: But admitting the Crown was Elective, (which there is not the least Colour to suppose) and that the Right of Election was solely in the Barons: Where was there any Election regularly made, or with what Justice

Justice could the Barons have proceeded to an Election after they had three times chosen, and as many taken their Oaths to the Succession of the Empress, who never committed any Act that could affect or forfeit her Title? Surely therefore none but a Man of *Rapin's* turn of Thought and unaccountable Prejudices could ever have made a Doubt whether King *Stephen* was a Usurper, or his Title worse than that of the Empress. I shall here subjoin the several Excuses made by the Barons to justify their Adherence to King *Stephen*, that the Reader may judge of the Weakness of them. They say that their Oath to the Empress was forc'd upon them by King *Henry*, for which he express'd his Sorrow on his Death-Bed, and releas'd them from it. The great Bishop of *Salisbury* excus'd himself in another manner, for he pretended that he swore to *Maud's* Succession conditionally (*viz.*) provided the King did not marry her out of the Kingdom without the Consent of the Peers, others alledg'd it was unnatural and against the Laws of the Realm for a Woman to Reign, and lastly it was urg'd, that Oaths were not to be kept to the Hazard of Peoples Lives and Fortunes, for Man was not made for Oaths, but Oaths were instituted for the Use of Men, and therefore no Man ought to be a Slave to his Oath, but his Oath ought to be subservient to his Interest and Safety.

King *Stephen* by his Wife *Maud*, Daughter King and Heir of *Rustace* Earl of *Bologn*, had three *Stephens* Sons, *viz.* *Baldwin*, *Eustace* and *William*, of Issue. whom *William* only surviv'd him, and he was excluded from succeeding to the Crown by the Treaty between King *Stephen* and Prince *Henry*;

1154. Henry; he had two Daughters by the same Marriage, viz. *Maud*, and *Mary*, but none of his legitimate Children left any Issue: King *Stephen* had also a base Son named *William*, whom he created Earl of *Norfolk*, and another named *Geroase*, as some write, afterward, Abbot of *Westminster*.

The Canon Law introduced in this Reign.

In this Reign, 'tis observ'd, the Pope and Clergy made great Encroachments on the Royal Prerogative, introducing several Foreign Laws and Customs, particularly the Canon Law compil'd by *Gratian*, and publish'd by Pope *Eugenius*, Anno 1151. It was first made Use of in the Controversy between the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Bishop of *Winchester* the Pope's Legate, the Archbishop looking upon it that he had Injustice done him by the Bishop of *Winchester*'s being appointed Legate, which gave him an Authority over the Archbishop, whose Suffragan he was. This Contest brought over several Canon Lawyers from *Rome*, who promoted this Study in the University of *Oxford*, *Vacarius* being the first Professor of it there.

CHAP. XV.

The Reign of HENRY II. surnamed PLANTAGENET.

1154. Henry II.

WHEN Prince *Henry* receiv'd Advice of the Death of King *Stephen* he was besieging a small Castle on the Frontiers of the French King's Territories, and so well assur'd was he of the Affections of the English, that he resolv'd to make himself Master of the Castle before he went over to take Possession of that Kingdom, insomuch that it was six Weeks





Weeks after King *Stephen's* Death before he arriv'd in *England*. Nor was he wrong in his Conjectures; for the *English* had been so long harrafs'd by Civil Wars, that no Man shew'd any Inclination to break thro' the Treaty concluded between King *Stephen* and Prince *Henry*, whereby those Domestick Feuds were happily appeas'd, notwithstanding the late King left a Son who was then of Age, and Resident in *England*, with an Army of Foreigners that might well be suppos'd to have been devoted to his Interest, as they had been retain'd in his Father's Service most part of his Reign. But to proceed.

King *Henry*, together with *Eleanor* his Queen, being arriv'd in *England*, were crown'd at *Westminster* by *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury* on the 19th of *December*, 1154: He was then in the 23d Year of his Age, and the first King of *England* of the Family of *Plantagenet*, said to be form'd of the Words *Planta genesta*, or *Broom-plant*, and which he receiv'd from his Father the Earl of *Anjou*. This King is observ'd to have had the largest Dominions of any Monarch that ever sat on the Throne of *England* before him, being possess'd of the Provinces of *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Poitou*, *Guienne* or *Aquitain*, *Saintonge*, *Maine* and *Touraine*, which constitute perhaps one Moiety of the Kingdom of *France*; tho' I can not be of Opinion they were ever any great Advantage to *England*, as they led us into abundance of unnecessary and unprofitable Wars, to maintain which *England* was frequently drain'd of her Wealth and beggar'd, and perhaps has had much more Reason to rejoyce at the Loss of those Provinces than at the Acquisition of them.

1154.

He deprives the Barons of their Castles.

Disbands the Foreign Troops.

Resumes the Grants and Patents of the former Reign.

1155.

The Coronation being over the King began to consider of the properest Means to secure the Tranquility of his Government, and first he took Possession of such Castles as were in the Hands of the Prelates and Barons who had appear'd most Zealous in the Interest of the late King, particularly those of the Bishop of *Winchester*, who was possess'd of no less than six: These he pretended were forfeited on the Bishop's going out of the Kingdom without Leave, some of the Castles he kept in his Hands, but most of them he demolish'd, as being only Receptacles of the seditious Barons.

He proceeded next to disband that mercenary Army of Foreigners which the late King kept in Pay, and by which he had maintain'd himself upon the Throne against the Empress his Mother, and himself; and thus having depriv'd the opposite Faction of their Forces and Fortresses, he proceeded to resume such Grants of the Crown Lands and all Patents of Nobility as were pass'd in the last Reign, being the Acts of a Usurper who had no Power to make such Grants.

Among others he introduc'd into his Council *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, Chief Justice of *England*, and *Thomas* of *Becket*, Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, whom he had constituted Chancellor of *England*; but he was directed chiefly in his Administration by his Mother the Empress. In the first Year of his Reign he summon'd a Grand Council of the Peers to meet at *Wallingford*, where the Barons were requir'd to swear to the Succession of his Sons *William* and *Henry*; and to gratify them for their Compliance in this Article, he confirm'd the Confessor's Laws, and the Charter of his Grandfather

father *Henry I.* at which the Nation expressing great Satisfaction, and Things remaining in perfect Tranquility on this side the Water, he thought it a proper Opportunity to visit his transmarine Dominions, where being arriv'd he went to the Court of *France* and did Homage for *Normandy* and the rest of the Provinces he held of that Crown. After which he assembled an Army and recover'd the Province of *Anjou* from his Brother *Geoffry*, to whom his Father had dispos'd of it by his Will: However, he settled upon him in lieu of it a thousand Pounds *per Ann. English*, and two thousand more of the Money of *Anjou*. King *Henry*, 'tis true, had taken an Oath to perform his Father's Will; but he pretended that by the Laws of the Country the Earl, his Father, could not dispose of his Territories to a younger Son, and procur'd a Dispensation from the Pope to absolve him from that Oath. *Adrian* the IVth. an *Englishman*, was Pope at this time, who succeeded *Anastasius* in that See the preceding Year.

1155.

1156.

Dispossesses his Brother *Geoffry*.

The King having made such Alterations in his *French* Dominions as he saw fit, embark'd for *England*, and enter'd into a Treaty with *Malcolm* King of *Scotland*, whereby it was stipulated that the King of *Scotland* should yield up *Carlisle*, *Newcastle upon Tyne*, and *Bamborough*, and that *Malcolm* should enjoy the Earldom of *Huntington*.

The first People that ventur'd to give this great Prince any Disturbance were those of *North Wales*, who not contented with the Product of their own barren Mountains were perpetually making Excursions into the more fruitful *English* Counties; nor can it be conceiv'd why the *English* in so long a Tract of

1157.

The Welsh War.

1157.



Time had not made an entire Conquest of them, unless it be that they were not worth the Conquering. King *Henry*, however, did not think them so inconsiderable as to be neglected, and therefore having assembled his Forces, he march'd in Person against them. Upon the Approach of the *English* Army the *Welsh*, as usual, abandon'd the open Country, and retir'd to their Mountains and the inaccessible part of the Country, whither the Van of the King's Army pursuing them, fell into an Ambuscade, and were great part of them cut off; and such was the Confusion that follow'd, that *Henry de Essex*, Hereditary Standard-bearer, flung down the Royal Standard and run away, declaring that the King was kill'd; but the King shewing himself to the Soldiers restor'd the Battle, and oblig'd the Enemy to accept of such Terms as he thought fit to allow them, particularly he oblig'd them to deliver up certain Castles that defended the principal Passes, and to cut Ways thro' the Woods that his Armies might with more Ease march thro' their Country; and their Nobility were Content to do him Homage, and swear Fealty to him.

Henry de Essex being charg'd with High Treason by *Robert de Montfort*, on his throwing down the King's Standard, a Tryal by Battle was appointed between them, in which *Essex* being defeated, his Life by the Laws of Chivalry was forfeited; but the King contented himself with the Forfeiture of his Estate, and shutting him up in a Cloyster, as much fitter for a Monk than a Soldier.

1158.

He is
Crown'd
again.

The following Year, in which Prince *Richard* the King's third Son was born, who succeeded him, King *Henry* visited several parts

parts of *England*, and amongst the rest the City of *Lincoln*, where he caus'd himself to be Crown'd in a Suburb without the Walls, not thinking it proper to have the Ceremony perform'd within the Gates, on Account of a superstitious Prophecy mentioned in the Reign of King *Stephen*. He was Crown'd the Year after again, together with his Queen, in the City of *Worcester*, on *Easter-Day*. Here at the Oblation they both offer'd up their Crowns at the High Altar, vowing never to wear them afterwards; and from this time, 'tis observ'd, that few of our Kings wore their Crowns at solemn Festivals, as had been accusom'd. The Money being extremely adulterated at this time, it was order'd to be recoin'd; indeed every Nobleman in the late Reign almost taking upon him to Coin Money, and making it of what Alloy he pleas'd, scarce any of it would pass beyond their respective Districts. The King having redress'd several other Abuses in *England*, made a second Voyage to *Normandy*, together with his Queen, where finding his Brother *Geoffry* dead, who had for some time enjoy'd the City and Earldom of *Nantz*, he laid claim to that Earldom, and actually possess'd himself of it, notwithstanding he was oppos'd by the Duke of *Bretagne*. He also visited the *French* Court with Queen *Eleanor*, where he concluded a Marriage between his eldest Son *Henry*, and *Lewis* the *French* King's Daughter, both Infants. He made another Match between his Son *Geoffry*, then in his Cradle, and *Constance* the Daughter of *Conan* Duke of *Bretagne*, whereby *Geoffry* afterwards succeeded to that Dutchy.

1158.

1159.

Money
recoin'd.

Still

1159.
The War
of Tho-
louse.

Still his Ambition being unsatisfied, he re-
viv'd a Dormant Title to the County of *Tho-
louse*, which he claim'd in Right of his Queen;
and to make it good he assembled a powerful
Army and enter'd into Alliances with *Ray-
mond* Earl of *Arragon* and *Barcelona*, and
Malcolm King of *Scotland*, the last of which
Princes attended him in Person in this
Expedition. But notwithstanding these great
Preparations, the *French* King, jealous of
King *Henry's* growing Power, opposing his
Pretensions, and furnishing the City of *Tho-
louse* with a numerous Garrison, *Henry* was
oblig'd to retire without effecting any thing.
Whereupon he plunder'd the *French* King's
Territories in his Return by way of Retalia-
tion for the Injury he imagin'd he had done
him. *William* Earl of *Blois*, Son to King
Stephen, attended King *Henry* in this Expe-
dition against *Tholouse*, and died in his Re-
turn from thence; which makes it highly pro-
bable he was never concern'd in the Conspi-
racy against this Prince's Life in the late
Reign, as is related by some of our Histo-
rians; it not being usual for Princes to employ
those in their Service who have been con-
cern'd in Conspiracies against their Persons.

A Peace.

A Treaty of Peace was concluded not long
after between the Kings of *France* and *Eng-
land*, whereby the last Peace made at *Paris*,
in relation to the Marriage between Prince
Henry and *Margaret* the Daughter of *Lewis*,
was ratified, one Article whereof was, that
the Princess should have for her Dower the
City of *Gisors* and part of the *Vexin*, which it
was agreed should remain in the Hands of the
Knights Templars till the Marriage should
be solemnized. The King of *England* being
im-

impatient till he added the *Vexin* to his other Territories in *France*, sent over Chancellor *Becket* with a splended Equipage to demand the young Princess for his Son, in order to her being educated in *England*, as had been stipulated. It was not long after her Arrival in *England*, when King *Henry* caus'd the Marriage between his Son and the Princess to be celebrated, tho' the one was but seven, and the other three Years of Age; whereupon the Knights Templars, in pursuance of their Trust, put King *Henry* in Possession of *Gisors* and the *Vexin*. This occasion'd the War with *France* to be reviv'd, for the *French* King alledg'd that the Marriage ought not to have been solemniz'd, and consequently the *Vexin* have been yielded up, till the Princess had been of mature Age; and insinuated that the King of *England* had brib'd the Templars to deliver up *Gisors* to him. To accommodate this matter, the Pope's Nuntio interposed his Mediation, and was upon the point of reconciling them, when Pope *Alexander III.* coming into *France* in Person gave the finishing Stroke to the Treaty, and the two Kings going to meet him at *Torcy*, both dismounted and led his Horse to the Quarters prepar'd for him in that Town, performing in their abundant Humility the Office of Yeomen of the Stirrup to his Holiness.

In these several Wars and Negotiations no less than four Years were spent, all which time the King and Court were on the other side the Water, which must drain *England* of her Treasure, and convince us sufficiently of the Disadvantage it is to the *English* Nation to have her Princes possess'd of Foreign Territories: It does not only engage her in frequent

1163.
The King resides four Years in *France*.

1163. frequent expensive Wars, as has been hinted already, but the Court's residing in a distant Country, tho' in time of Peace, must occasion very large Sums to be carry'd out of the Kingdom; at the same time the Administration of Affairs at home being frequently left to rapacious Ministers who are not under the Prince's Eye, this naturally introduces a Train of Evils and Oppressions without any Possibility of Redress.

The King being return'd to *England*, accordingly met with numerous Complaints from all Parts of the Corruption and Oppressions of his Officers and Ministers during his Absence; but the greatest Evil, and that which seem'd most difficult to remedy, was the frequent Outrages committed by the Ecclesiasticks, who looking upon themselves as exempted from Secular Jurisdiction, made no Scruple of insulting and abusing Laymen wherever they met them, and were so favourably punish'd by their Superiors, when they were convicted of the most flagrant Crimes, that the Sentence tended more to encourage their Insults than to suppress them; and this was chiefly ascrib'd to the Countenance given them by *Thomas of Becket*, whom the King had the preceding Year advanc'd to the See of *Canterbury*.

Thomas of Becket The Father of this Prelate, who rais'd such Disturbances in this Reign, was a Citizen of *London*, whose House, on Account of the pretended Sanctity and Martyrdom of *Thomas* his Son, who inherited it, was afterwards converted into a Chapel, situated on the same Ground in *Cheapside* where *Mercers* Chapel stands at present. *Thomas* was bred a Civilian, and being a Man of good natural Parts,

Parts, improv'd by Education, became very eminent in that Profession, and taking Orders, was made Archdeacon of *Canterbury* by Archbishop *Theobald*; the same Prelate introduc'd him to the King, recommending him as a fit Person to be the Prince's Tutor, which Office he discharg'd so much to the King's Satisfaction, that he soon made him High Chancellor of *England*, and upon the Death of *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he oblig'd the Chapter to elect him into that See, very much against their Inclinations; for no Minister ever acted more arbitrarily, or liv'd in greater Pomp and Splendor than *Becket* did while he was in that Post, which made him dreaded by the Monks. It is reported of him, that while he attended the King in the *French* Wars, he maintain'd no less than seven hundred Horse and twelve thousand Foot, and that he was as eminent for his Skill in Military Affairs as for his Oratory at the Bar; that he appear'd alternately in a Gown and in Armour, and particularly, that once he tilted with a *French* Knight and dismounted him. However, upon his Consecration he became in Appearance quite another Man; he seem'd to disrelish the Pomp and Splendor of a Court, imitated the most rigid Monks both in his Habit and Diet; resign'd his Office of High Chancellor; and soon gave the King his Benefactor to understand, he must expect no further Service from him; or rather, that since he had plac'd him at the Head of the Church he would acknowledge no Superior in *England*; for when the King insisted that the Clergy who were guilty of capital Crimes should be try'd by the Civil Magistrate, he oppos'd it with all his

1163. Might, declaring they were Subject only to Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, notwithstanding it was made appear that the Clergy were daily guilty of the most notorious Violences, and had committed above an hundred Murders in this Reign, for which few of them had been sentenc'd at all by their Superiors, and those that had been punish'd most, suffer'd only Deprivation or some short Suspension.

Constitutions of these Disorders, conven'd an Assembly of the Bishops and Barons, wherein he propos'd the reviving and establishing certain Laws, which he term'd the Customs of his Grandfather *Henry I.* the most Material whereof follow.

1. It was provided that none should appeal to the Court of *Rome* without the King's License. 2. That no Bishop should leave the Kingdom and attend the Pope on his Summons, without the Royal License. 3. That no Bishop should excommunicate any Person who held in Chief of the Crown, or any of the King's Officers, without his Leave. 4. That Clerks should be tried in the Secular Courts for Capital Crimes. 5. That the Courts of Common Law should take Cognizance of Suits concerning Tythes, the Repair of Churches, &c.

The Archbishops and Bishops refus'd at first to consent to these Ordinances, without adding a saving Clause in behalf of their Order and the Rights of the Church, and it was not without great Difficulty that Archbishop *Becket* was at length prevail'd on to consent to them, whereupon the rest of the Bishops also gave their Assent; but this being done after the Assembly was separated, the King thought it proper to have them

establish'd

1164.

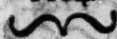
establiſh'd in a more ſolemn Manner, and thereupon ſummon'd another grand Council of the Spiritual and Temporal Barons, to meet at *Clerendon* in *Wiltſhire*, from whence theſe Ordinances obtain'd the Name of *The Conſtitutions of Clarendon*. The Prelates here very readily gave a verbal Aſſent to them as well as the Temporal Lords, but when they were required to put their Seals to the Inſtrument, Archbiſhop *Becket* refus'd it; however with great Importunity the Archbiſhops and Biſhops were prevail'd on to affix their Seals to it, and the King ſent them to the Pope for his Approbation, but his Holineſs abſolutely condemn'd them: Whereupon the Archbiſhop pretending to repent of what he had done, enjoyn'd himſelf certain ſevere Penances, and ſuſpended himſelf from performing Divine Offices till he ſhould receive Abſolution from the Pope, who ſoon favour'd him with it. This Perverſneſs of the Archbiſhop highly provok'd the King, who order'd him to be proſecuted for embezzling the Publick Treafure, and on many other Accounts; and on his Contumacy in not appearing to answer the Charge, his Goods were adjudg'd to be forfeited by the Barons. He was afterwards charg'd with Perjury and Treafon, for reſuſing to Obey his Sovereign according to his Oath of Allegiance, and the Biſhops thereupon diſclaim'd all future Obedience to him as their Primate; but while the Spiritual and Temporal Barons were debating what Sentence to paſs upon him, *Becket* came into the Aſſembly with the Croſier in his Hand, for which the Archbiſhop of *York* reprov'd him, bidding him remember that the King carried a much ſharper Weapon, and adviſing

Becket
opposes
the Con-
stitutions
of *Clarendon*.

The
Pope
con-
demns
them.

The
Quarrel
between
the King
and
Becket.

1164.



him to lay down the Cross, *Becket* answer'd, *The King's Weapon may destroy the Body, but this will destroy both Body and Soul in Hell.* Whereupon the King charg'd him with High Treason, and he was committed to Prison, and being afterwards call'd to hear Sentence pronounc'd against him, he appeal'd to the Pope, declaring the Peers incompetent Judges. This provok'd several of the Assembly to call him Traytor; to which he answer'd, *If it were not for his Profession he would engage any of them in single Combat, and did not doubt to clear himself both of Perjury and Felony.* However, finding an Opportunity to make his Escape, he embark'd for *Flanders*, passing under the Name of *Deerman*.

King *Henry* immediately sent to the *French* King, to desire he would not harbour a Traytor to his Government; but *Lewis*, glad of an Opportunity of embarrassing the King of *England's* Affairs, took the Archbishop into his Protection, and wrote to the Pope in his behalf. Whereupon King *Henry* sent an Embassy to *Rome*, consisting of some eminent Spiritual and Temporal Peers, offering to submit the Case to any two Legates the Pope should send to *England*. To which his Holiness answer'd, *He would determine the Matter himself*; apprehending that the Legates might be brib'd to take part with the King; such a Case as this, where the Church propos'd the advancing her Dominion over the Civil Powers, was not to be trusted in Hands that were capable of Corruption.

1165.

The King finding the Court of *Rome* was not to be prevail'd on to do him Justice, commanded the Sheriffs of *England* to arrest

all

all Persons who should appeal to that See, with the Relations of all Ecclesiasticks that follow'd *Becket* beyond Sea, and compel them to find Sureties for their good Behaviour; he also directed all their Benefices to be sequestred, declaring that whoever should bring over any Letters or Mandates from the Pope or Archbishop, containing any Excommunication or Interdict, should be executed as a Traytor. He also sequestred the Revenues of the Archbishoprick, and banish'd all that were related to that Prelate, Men, Women, and Children, ordering him not to be mention'd in the Publick Prayers for the future.

1165.

The Archbishop on the other hand, excommunicated all that obey'd or promoted the Constitutions of *Clarendon*. But King *Henry* assembling an Army, with which it was apprehended he might join the Emperor of *Germany* against his Holiness, the Pope thought fit to indulge the King so far as to send two Legates to hear the Case. However, he dispatch'd Letters after them to Limit their Power, which was perfectly needless, for the Archbishop refus'd to submit his Cause to them, unless Restitution was first made to him and his Friends, of all their Effects which had been seiz'd; and being advis'd to submit to the King, he answer'd he would, *Saving God's Honour and the Church's Liberty, saving his own Honour and the Church's Possessions, and saving his own and his Friends Rights*. The King was out of all Patience to hear his numerous *Salvo's*, and threatned the Abbot of *Pontigny*, where *Becket* had resided two Years, that if he harbour'd him any longer, he would banish all the Monks

1166.

of

1166. of his Order out of *England*; whereupon he was dismiss'd out of that Monastery, and the *French King* took him into his immediate Protection, and the Pope honour'd him with the Confirmation of all the Privileges that any of his Predecessors enjoy'd, so that he was not much a Sufferer while he remain'd in Exile.

1167. The King to shew his Resentment against the Pope, who so warmly espous'd the Interest of *Becket*, enter'd into a Treaty with the Emperor of *Germany*, declaring he was upon the Point of renouncing Pope *Alexander* and acknowledging the Antipope. But *Alexander* being satisfi'd the Clergy of *England* would never consent to it, despis'd his Threats, and on the other hand, in an imperious Manner, commanded the Bishop of *London* to admonish the King to revoke the Constitutions of *Clarendon* and restore the Archbishop. The Bishop of *London* executed his Commission, but not in so haughty a manner as he was directed; and in his Answer to his Holiness, assur'd him that he found the King ready to obey the Decrees of the Church, saving his own and his Kingdom's Dignity: That by the antient Custom of the Kingdom, no Clerk in a Civil Action could appeal to *Rome* till he was denied Justice in the King's Courts: That he had not banish'd the Archbishop, he might return at pleasure, provided he wou'd conform himself to the antient Laws of the Kingdom, which he had bound himself to maintain by his Coronation Oath; and that the King was ready to abide by the Judgment of the Church in his own Kingdom.

But

But the King, weary of these Contentions, and apprehensive they might in the End turn to his Prejudice, all the Clergy almost being in *Becket's* Interest, and indeed looking upon the Cause as their own; the main Struggle being to exempt them from the Jurisdiction of the Civil Power. The King, 'tis said, upon these or the like Considerations, having struck up a Peace with *France*, had a Conference with *Becket* in the *French King's* Presence, to try if Matters could not be accommodated between them; nor did the Archbishop seem averse to an Agreement, all Disputes were upon the Point of being adjusted, only the Archbishop insisted on a *Saving of the Honour due to God*, which highly exasperated the King, and render'd the Treaty ineffectual, *for such (says the King) are the subtle Evasions of this Man, that whatever he is displeas'd with, he will say is against the Honour of God*: Adding, that as there had been several Kings of *England* of less Power than himself, and several Archbishops great and holy Men, if the Archbishop would do what the best of his Predecessors had done to the least of the King's of *England*, he would be contented. But *Becket* still persisting in his Savings; the *French King* demanded of him, If he thought himself Greater and Holier than *St. Peter*? The Peers of both Nations that were present also charg'd the Archbishop with Arrogance, and with being the sole Obstacle of his own and the Church's Tranquility.

The Pope however still adher'd to *Becket*, looking upon him as the grand Champion of the Church, by whose Resolution and Perseverance he hop'd to render himself superior

1167.

1168.

1169. *Becket* to all the Powers on Earth; he gave the Archbishop leave therefore to avenge himself on his Enemies by Church Censures; whereupon *Becket* excommunicated the Bishop of London, and such Numbers of the Clergy, that there were scarce Priests left about the Court to perform Divine Service in the King's Chapel. The King thereupon required the Pope to send Legates to absolve his Subjects, or he should take Measures that would not be agreeable to his Holiness. Two Legates accordingly were sent to the King in France, but nothing was concluded on. Another Conference was held between the King of England and *Becket*, in the Presence of the French King, wherein King *Henry* offer'd to abide by the Judgment of the Churches of France and England, which *Becket* refusing, the Assembly unanimously censur'd his Obstinacy. Still the Pope encourag'd the Archbishop to persist in his Disloyalty, threatening the Kingdom with an Interdict, if King *Henry* refus'd to comply with him. Whereupon the King declar'd, that whoever brought any Letters of Interdict from the Pope or *Becket*, should be deem'd Traytors to their Country; that no Clerk should go out of the Kingdom, or return without License; that there should be no Appeals to Rome, or Causes tried by Virtue of any Mandate from thence; that *Peter-pence* should be no longer paid to Rome, &c.

1170. The King however resolv'd at length to be reconcil'd to *Becket* at any rate, and meeting him at *Amboise* near *Tours* in France, in the Presence of the French King, and several of the Bishops and Lay Nobility of that Kingdom, he receiv'd the Archbishop into

into his Favour, promising to restore him to all the Rights and Possessions belonging to the Church of *Canterbury*, as he held them before he left *England*; whereupon the Archbishop return'd to *England* after a six Years Exile. But before I proceed further in his Story, it will be necessary to take Notice of some other Occurrences that happen'd in this Interval; among which are the Marriage of *Maud*, King *Henry's* Daughter, with the Duke of *Saxony*. The Archbishop of *Cologne* and several other of the *German* Nobility, coming into *England* to conduct this Princess to her Spouse, Anno 1165, it is observ'd that all the Churches where they heard Divine Service were new Consecrated; the *Germans* being look'd upon here as Schismatics, on their adhering to *Paschal* the Antipope. The King had a fourth Son born Anno 1166, baptiz'd by the Name of *John*.

1170.
Maud
the
King's
Daugh-
ter mar-
ried to
the Duke
of *Saxo-
ny*.

The same Year one *Gerhard* arriv'd from *German* *Germany* with about thirty Followers, who were condemn'd by a Synod held at *Oxford* for Hereticks, and being deliver'd over to the Civil Powers, were burnt in the Cheek, and the King's Subjects forbidden to relieve them, whereupon all of them perish'd. They were charg'd among other Things, with denying Marriage, and the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, to be the Ordinances of God; but others suggest, that they were only charg'd with these Things to render them odious, and justify the Cruelty of the Clergy towards them, and that their real Crime was their denying the Authority of the See of *Rome*.

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ticks
starved.

The Year following, Anno 1167, died the Empress *Matilda*, the King's Mother, at the Em-
No L. XVI. A a a Rouen press dies

1170. *Rouen in Normandy*, in the sixty-sixth Year of her Age. She left a great deal of Treasure behind her, which she order'd to be distributed to several Churches and Monasteries, and among Lepers and other poor infirm People, for the Good of her Soul; which the King her Son applied according to the Purport of her Will.

In the Year 1169, a Marriage was concluded between the Princess *Eleanor*, the King's Daughter, and *Alphonfus* King of *Castile*.

The King having resided in his *French* Dominions from the Year 1165 to the Year 1170, return'd to *England*, where he met with repeated Complaints of the Oppressions and Corruptions of several Magistrates and Officers of Justice, the natural

Consequence of his long Residence on the other side the Water; to remedy which, the King granted Commissions to some of the Spiritual and Temporal Peers, to visit the several Parts of the Kingdom, and enquire into the Extortions and Misdemeanors of the Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and other Judges of inferior Courts: But History does not furnish us with the Particulars or Success of this Inquisition. The same Year the King conven'd

He
Crowns
his Son
Henry.

a Grand Council of the Spiritual and Temporal Peers, Sheriffs, and other Officers of Justice, to meet at *London* on the 14th of June, in whose Presence he caus'd his Son *Henry* to be Crown'd, the Ceremony being perform'd by the Archbishop of *York*, assisted by the Bishops of *London*, *Durham*, and some other Prelates; and the next Day, *William* King of *Scots*, who was in the Court of *England* at this Time, together with *David* his Brother, and the *English* Barons, took the

Oath of Fealty to him. This was done to secure the Succession of the Crown to the King's Issue; but one principal Reason of the doing it at this Time, 'tis said, was to mortify Archbishop *Becket*, who claim'd the sole Privilege of Crowning the King; and indeed nothing piqu'd that Prelate more; for notwithstanding the Controversy between him and the King was thought to be entirely ended, he no sooner set his Foot on Shoar in *England*, but he publish'd the Pope's Letters which he had procur'd for the Suspension of the Archbishop of *York* and the Bishop of *Durham*, and for the Excommunication of the Bishops of *London*, *Salisbury*, and *Exeter*, who had assisted at the Coronation: Nor would he absolve them, notwithstanding the young King's Entreaties on their behalf; whereupon the Bishops went over to the King, who was then in *Normandy*, and complain'd that he had made an unfortunate Agreement with the Archbishop, since themselves and the rest of the King's Friends were like to be great Sufferers by it; to which the Archbishop of *York* added, 'It was impossible the Nation should enjoy a Day's Peace, or the King a happy Moment, while *Becket* liv'd.' The King, griev'd to the Heart that his Goodness should be thus abus'd by *Becket*, after he had granted him whatever he could ask, cry'd out, *What a miserable Man am I! that among the Numbers I feed and maintain, not one of them durst vindicate me from the Wrongs I suffer by this Priest, or Words to that Effect.* Which some Gentlemen of his Court, Men of Quality and Merit, looking upon it as a Reproach, engag'd themselves by an Oath to kill the Archbishop; and withdrawing

1170.

Becket
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her'd to
the King.

1171.

1171.

Becket
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privately from Court, made what haste they could over into *England*. On their Arrival at *Canterbury* they found the Archbishop at Church, standing near the High Altar, while the Monks perform'd Divine Service. They first reproach'd him with his Pride and Ingratitude to his Sovereign, and call'd him Traytor, to which, it is said, he return'd a resolute and scornful Answer; whereupon they fell upon him, and having given him several Wounds with their Swords, at length beat out his Brains, with which and his Blood the very Altar was stain'd. In his dying Moments, 'tis said, he committed the Church's Cause to God, to whom, and the Saints, he recommended his own Soul. He was not at all dismay'd or confounded, 'tis said, when he saw them approach him in Armour as determin'd to sacrifice him.

This Fact was committed on the 30th of December, 1171, by *Reginald Fitz-Urse*, *William Tracy*, *Richard Briton*, and *Hugh Morvill*, still'd Barons, and Servants of the King's Bedchamber, by some of our Historians, who doubting whether the King would countenance the Attempt, tho' he might not be displeas'd with it, they retir'd to *Knaresborough Castle* in *Yorkshire*, belonging to *Hugh Morvill*, where they remain'd a Year, and afterwards thought fit to retire beyond Sea to avoid the Vengeance of the Clergy and People, who look'd upon *Becket* as a Saint and Martyr; tho' our Historians observe, that it was made a Question above fifty Years after, and debated in the University of *Paris*, Whether *Becket* was sav'd or damn'd. One side maintaining that he deserv'd Death for his Contumacy and Opposition of his Sovereign,

1171.

vereign, while the other pretended to prove his Saintship from the Miracles wrought at his Tomb; for it was confidently affirm'd, that he rais'd from the Dead both Men and Beasts; that being expos'd to View in the Church before he was buried, he rose out of his Coffin and lighted the Wax Candles, and that when the Funeral Ceremony was ended, he lift up his Head and bless'd the People; and the Pope sending his Legate some time after to enquire into these Matters, was so well satisfied of the Truth of them, or at least that the People believ'd them to be true, that he caus'd him to be canoniz'd by the Name of *Saint Thomas of Canterbury*, and order'd a Jubilee to be held every fifty Years at *Canterbury*, in Memory of this heroick Defender of the Church's Privileges. Vast Numbers of Pilgrims afterwards Annually resorted to his Tomb for the Health of Soul or Body; not less than an hundred thousand, according to *Somner*, appear'd there in the Year 1420; and such were the Gifts and Offerings made on these Occasions, that his Shrine was esteem'd the richest in the *Christian* World.

The same Year 1171, di'd *Conan* Duke of *Bretagne*, surnam'd *the Little*, whereupon that Dutchy descended to his Daughter, who having married *Geoffrey*, King *Henry's* fourth Son, at this Time about twelve Years of Age, the King as his Guardian took Possession of *Bretagne*, and receiv'd the Homage of the Barons of that Province.

The next Enterprize the King undertook, *Ireland*, was his long projected Design of the Conquest of *Ireland*, which *Becket's* Perverseness, and some other important Affairs, had hither-

1171.



to diverted him from. It appears that he had this in his Thoughts from the very beginning of his Reign ; and according to the Apprehension of the Princes of those Times, that the See of *Rome* had the Disposal of all new discover'd or barbarous Countries, and indeed of every Territory that did not acknowledge her Sovereign Dominion in Spirituals, whether in the Possession of *Christians* or *Infidels*, King *Henry* had apply'd to *Adrian IV.* the *English* Pope, for his Approbation and Concurrence in the Enterprize ; and accordingly we meet with a Bull of the Pope's, wherein he empowers the King to do whatever he should see fit to advance the Honour of God and the Salvation of the *Irish*, whom he charges to submit to the King's Jurisdiction, and acknowledge him for their Sovereign Lord, *provided always that the Rights of the Church were inviolably observ'd, and Peter Pence duly paid*, as the King had promis'd him it should to induce him to grant that Bull.

Ireland was at this time divided into seven little States or Principalities, namely, those of *Ulster*, *Conaught*, *Cork*, *Leinster*, *Offory*, *Meath* and *Limerick*. *Dermoth* was Prince or King of *Leinster*, as they stile him, and is represented to be a very Tyrant, who not Content with abusing his own Subjects, found Means to corrupt and run away with the Wife of *Ororick* Prince of *Meath*, and detain'd her by Violence ; whereupon *Ororick* calling to his Assistance *Roderick* Prince of *Conaught*, the most powerful Prince among the *Irish*, invaded *Leinster*, and many of *Dermouth's* Subjects revolting, he was driven out of his Dominions and oblig'd to fly to the King

Annals of
Dublin

King of *England* for Protection. The King then resided in *Guienne* or *Aquitain*, to whom *Dermouth* was extremely welcome, especially as he promised to become his Vassal, and acknowledge him for his Sovereign, which gave the King a much better Pretence and Opportunity of intermeddling in the Affairs of *Ireland* than had hitherto offer'd. However, the King was so embarrass'd with other Matters at this time, that he could not afford him any present Relief, but authoriz'd him to apply himself to any of his Subjects who were willing to give him their immediate Assistance.

Dermouth with these Powers went over into *South Wales*, which lay nearest to his own Country of any part of the King of *England*'s Dominions; here he made his Application first to *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, a popular Gentleman of small Fortune, and not long after to *Richard Strongbow* Earl of *Pembroke*, a Peer of great Merit, who had a large Estate and numerous Dependants. *Fitz-Stephen* he engag'd by setting before him the Wealth and Honour that was to be gain'd by this Enterprize, and to the Earl he promis'd his Daughter *Eva* in Marriage, and that he should succeed him in the Principality of *Leinster* after his Decease; and having concerted Measures with them, went over into *Ireland* to assemble his Friends, and prepare Matters for the Reception of his *English* Allies.

Fitz-Stephen embark'd in the Month of *May*, 1170, with a small Detachment, accompany'd by his half Brother *Fitz-Gerard*, and landed at *Baginbun* near *Waterford*. The Day following *Maurice Pendergast*, with another Detachment, landed at the same Place, and joining *Fitz-Stephen*, they march'd with

1171. with their united Forces, consisting of about four hundred Men, towards *Wexford*, in such admirable Order that the *Irish* did not think fit to interrupt their March, *Wexford* surrendering on their appearing before it. This City and the neighbouring Country were given to *Fitz-Stephen*, who left an *English* Colony in the Town that till lately, 'tis said, retain'd a great deal of the Old *English* Habit and Language.

The Earl of *Pembroke* receiving repeated Advices of the Success of *Fitz-Stephen*, embark'd in *September* following with fourteen hundred Men, and landing near *Waterford*, which he took by Storm, put all the Inhabitants to the Sword, either to revenge their Revolt from *Dermoth*, or to strike a Terror into the *Irish*, and facilitate his future Conquests; whereupon *Dermoth* gave him his Daughter *Eve* in Marriage as he had promised, and dying not long after, left the Earl in Possession of his Country, from whence *Dermoth* obtain'd the Name of *Ningal*, or *The Stranger's Friend*. The Earl afterwards march'd into the Heart of *Ireland* without Opposition, *Roderick* King of *Conaught*, under whom the rest of the *Irish* Princes were united for their common Defence, retiring into the most inaccessible Parts of the Country; whereupon the Earl return'd towards the Sea-Coast and invested *Dublin*, the capital City of the Island, which immediately surrender'd to him. These were the Successes the Adventurers of *South Wales* met with in *Ireland* in the Year 1170, of which King *Henry* receiving Advice, and being apprehensive the whole Nation would submit to them, and that the Adventurers would endeavour to render

1172.

render themselves independant of the Crown of England, he issu'd a Proclamation recalling all his Subjects from *Ireland*, and prohibiting any further Supplies of Men or Provisions to be sent over thither; but the Earl of *Pembroke*, and *Fitz-Stephen* sending over a Deputation to the King, (who was then in *Gloucestershire* with his Army ready to embark for *Ireland*) and offering to deliver up to him *Dublin* and all the Towns and Fortresses they were Masters of upon the Sea-Coast, the King seem'd to be satisfied with them, and consented they should retain the rest of their Conquests, holding of him as their Sovereign. About *Michaelmas*, 1171, the King transported his Army to *Ireland*, landing near *Waterford*, in which Town the King taking up his Quarters for about 15 Days, the Kings of *Cork*, *Limerick*, *Ossery* and *Meath*, with many others of the *Irish* Princes, Nobility and Clergy, attended him, making their Submission, and taking the Oaths of Allegiance to him and to his Son *Henry* as their Sovereign. The King afterwards continu'd his March to *Dublin*, and hither *Roderick*, call'd chief Monarch of the Country in our Histories, came in also and did him Homage. The King having kept his *Christmas* in this City, and splendidly entertain'd the *Irish* Royalists and Nobility, he afterwards assembled the Clergy, whom he oblig'd to conform to the Rights and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, or rather of *Rome*, according to his Promises to the Pope. He also constituted *Hugh Lacy* Chief Justice or Viceroy of *Ireland*, granting the County of *Meath* to him and his Heirs by Patent, on Condition of serving the Crown with an hundred Knights. *Robert Fitz-Bernard*

1172.

ward he made Governor of the Towns of *Waterford* and *Wexford*, and depriv'd the Earl of *Pembroke* and *Fitz-Stephens* of great part of their Acquisitions, being still jealous of the enterprizing Genius of these Gentlemen. After which, having left Garrisons in the principal Towns, and given Directions to fortify them, he embark'd on *Easter-Monday* for *England*, and from thence went immediately over to *Normandy* to meet the Pope's Legates, who were sent thither to enquire what Concern the King had in the Death of *Becket*; for the *French* King had charg'd him with being the Author of that Murder, and endeavour'd to stir up the Pope to revenge it upon him, insomuch that King *Henry* found it difficult to prevent his Kingdom being laid under an Interdict, notwithstanding he distributed great Sums of Money in the Court of *Rome*, and protested his Innocence, offering to leave the Matter to such Cardinals as the Pope should appoint to enquire into it.

The Pen-
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on King
Henry
for *Beck-*
er's Mur-
der.

The Legates having spent four Months in examining Witnesses in relation to *Becket's* Death, at length administer'd an Oath to the King that he neither commanded nor consented to his Murder: The King also declar'd that he was sorry for the rash Words that gave Occasion to others to commit the Fact. They oblig'd him also to take a further Oath, that he would not oppose the Pope's Authority so long as he was us'd as a Catholick King. 2dly. That all Appeals should be freely made to the Pope in all Ecclesiastical Causes. 3dly. That he should undertake the *Crusado* and go to *Jerusalem* for three Years, and if diverted by the *Saracens* in *Spain*, maintain two hundred Soldiers for a Year in the

Holy

Holy Land. 4thly. He should freely restore all that were Exiles upon the late Archbishop's Account. And, 5thly. Abolish all Customs introduc'd in his time to the Prejudice of the Church of *Canterbury*, or of any other Church in his Kingdom.

Besides which there are some secret Articles he promis'd to comply with, which the Legates in their Letters say were not fit for them to commit to Writing, and are suppos'd to relate to the Penance he was to perform at *Becket's Tomb*, of which *Hoveden* gives the following Account: He says, that the King coming towards the Church where the Archbishop was buried, cloath'd all in Woollen, went three Miles bare-footed, insomuch that the very Ground where he walk'd was distain'd with the Blood running from his tender Feet; nor was this the worst, for after this coming to the Sepulchre, and there prostrating himself, he receiv'd Discipline by Rods on his bare Flesh at the Hands of the Bishops, Priests, Abbots and Monks there present; so that we may easily believe *Baronius* and his Author, who acknowledge that he receiv'd eighty Lashes; but this last part was not executed till the Year 1174, when it occasion'd, no doubt, great Triumphs at the Court of *Rome*.

Roger, Abbot of *Bec* in *Normandy*, was elected Archbishop of *Canterbury* in the beginning of the Year 1173, after that See had been vacant a Year and upwards. While King *Henry* was in *Ireland*, a Conspiracy was form'd against him, in which his three eldest Sons, his own Queen, the King of *Scotland* and the *French King* were Parties; but it did not break out into Action till the Year 1173,

1172.



1173.

A Conspiracy
against
King
Henry
by his
Queen
and Sons.

1173



when the King resided in *Normandy*. Queen *Eleanor*, 'tis said, was picqu'd at the King's leaving her Bed and entertaining a Multitude of young Mistresses (among whom the celebrated *Rosamond*, the Daughter of the Lord *Clifford*, was one whom the Queen, according to Tradition, found Means to dispatch with a Glass of Poyson in the Labyrinth at *Woodstock* while the King was abroad; but no History of any Credit in those Times mentioning this Particular, in relation to the Death of *Fair Rosamond*; it is generally deem'd a Fable).

Henry the King's eldest Son was dissatisfied that he had only the Title of King without the Power. *Richard* the King's second Son, whom he had made Earl of *Poitou*, expected his Father should have put the Administration of the Government into his Hands; which the old King not thinking fit to trust him with, he became a Malecontent. And *Geoffry* the King's third Son was no less offended, that the King, under Pretence of being his Guardian, kept Possession of his Duchy of *Britaigne*, apprehending himself to be of Age to take the Government of that Duchy into his own Hands. *William* King of *Scotland* engag'd in the Conspiracy, in hopes of recovering the Places that had been yielded to *England*: and the King of *France* join'd with them, under Pretence that the young King, his Son-in-Law, had not Justice done him, in being excluded from any Share of the Government either in *England* or *France*; but in Truth, with a Design to divide the *English* among themselves, that he might have nothing to apprehend from that Quarter, as has ever been the Policy of *France*. With these

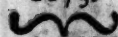
join'd

France
and *Scotland*
assist the
Conspirators.

join'd the Earls of *Flanders*, *Bulloigne* and *Blou*, the Earls of *Leicester*, *Chester* and *Northfolk*, and many other *English* Noblemen, who were either disgusted with the old King, or hop'd to better their Fortunes under the young King's Administration.

King *Henry* the Son, who was now with his Father in *Normandy*, by withdrawing privately from the *English* Court, and going over to that of *France*, confirm'd his Father in the Opinion of his Disaffection which he had for some time entertain'd; but he was surpris'd when he understood that the Queen had at the same time sent over his other Sons, *Richard* and *Geoffrey*, to *Paris*, and that his whole Family, with the neighbouring Powers, had form'd a Design to depose him and place his Son *Henry* on the Throne; and looking upon the Queen as the Source of these Misfortunes, he sent over Orders into *England* that she should be closely confin'd; whereupon the rest of the Parties in the Conspiracy immediately declar'd themselves and enter'd upon Action. Prince *Richard* assembled his Friends in the Dutchy of *Aquitain*, and great part of that Province revolted to him; his Brother *Geoffrey* rais'd an Insurrection in *Britagne*; the French Kings in Conjunction with the Earls of *Blou*, *Bulloigne* and *Flanders*, attack'd the Frontiers of *Normandy*; the Earl of *Leicester* having rais'd an Army of French and Flemings, made a Descent on *England* near *Southampton*, and was join'd by several other disaffected Noblemen, while young King *Henry* remain'd at *Paris*, assuming the Prerogatives as well as Title of King of *England*, receiving the Homage of the Vassals of that Crown, making Grants of the Crown Lands and publick Revenues,

1173.



venues, while he was forming an Army to support his Claim, and reinforce the Earl of *Leicester* in *England*.

The
King of
Scotland
made
Prisoner.

Surrounded with these numerous and formidable Enemies, Foreign and Domestick, old King *Henry* did not neglect the Defence of any part of his Dominions. He oblig'd the *French King* to raise the Siege of *Verneuil*; by his Generals he reduc'd the revolted *Bretagnes*; the Earl of *Leicester* was defeated and made Prisoner in *England* by *Humphry Bobun*; *William King* of *Scotland* was routed and made Prisoner by the same General, and sent over to the King into *Normandy*, where and in *Aquitain* he had the good Fortune to make himself Master of most of the Places that had revolted from him; and the young King *Henry* was so long detain'd by contrary Winds at *Gravelin*, that he had no Opportunity of transporting his Army into *England* till it was too late, his Friends the Earl of *Leicester* and the King of *Scots* being defeated while he lay waiting for a Wind; and the old King coming over into *England* not long after, retook such Fortresses as still remain'd in his Son's Interest.

1174.

While the King of *England* was on this side the Water, the *French King* uniting his Troops with those which lay at *Gravelin*, besieg'd the City of *Rouen*; but this Place making a brave Defence, gave King *Henry* time to assemble his Troops and come over to its Relief. He left his Queen in Custody in *England*, but carried the King of *Scotland*, with the Earls of *Leicester* and *Chester* and several other Prisoners of State, over with him into *Normandy*; and the *French King* no sooner heard of his Approach, but he abandon'd

don'd the Siege of *Rouen* precipitately, leaving most of his Baggage and Implements of War behind him.

King *Henry* having thus happily restor'd his Affairs, and dispers'd this formidable Confederacy, obtain'd a mighty Reputation among the Princes of *Europe*; and his Enemies being no longer able to sustain the Force of his Arms, desir'd a Truce till Terms of Peace could be agreed on. His Son *Richard* defeated

alone seem'd determin'd to continue the War, tho' he was deserted by the *French* King and both his Brothers; but this Prince at length threw himself at his Father's Feet, and desir'd to be receiv'd into Favour, which put a Period to the War, and a Peace was concluded on the following Terms: The three Brothers were to make their Submission and acknowledge their Father for their Sovereign; Prisoners on all sides were to be set at Liberty without Ransom, unless the King of *Scotland* and the Earls of *Chester* and *Leicester*, with such others as had already agreed for their Ransoms; those who were enlarg'd were to find Security for their future Loyalty; King *Henry* the younger was to ratify the Appenage his Father had granted his Brother *John* on his Marriage; and the *French* King was to restore such Places as he had taken during the War: and to render the Peace more durable, a Marriage was agreed on between Prince *Richard* and *Alice* the Daughter of *Lewis*, who being very young, was to be educated in *England* under the Care of King *Henry* while she was marriageable: But it will appear in the Course of this History that the old King was by no Means a proper Trustee in Cases of this Nature.

A Peace concluded.

This

1175.

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King of
Scotland
does Ho-
mage for
the
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dom of
Scotland

[This Treaty] being sign'd and ratify'd, King *Henry* came over into *England*, and going down with the young King to *York*, there in the Presence of great Numbers of the Nobility of both Kingdoms, *William* King of *Scotland* did Homage to both the *Henry's* for the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and as a Security for his future Dependance on the Crown of *England*, he put into the Hands of the *Eng-lish* the Castles of *Stirling*, *Edinburgh*, *Rox-burgh* and *Berwick*; the Barons of *Scotland* at the same time taking their Oaths for the Fidelity of their King, who paid a Ransom of an hundred thousand Pounds for his Liberty, according to some of our Historians.

1176.

1176.

The Nation now enjoying a profound Peace, the two *Henry's* visited several parts of *England* to inspect the Conduct of the Magistrates and Officers of Justice, and reform such Abuses as had been introduc'd during the War: A Synod also was held at *Westminster*, where several Canons were made, and among others, one prohibiting Patrons to take a Reward for a Presentation on Pain of forfeiting their Rights of Patronage; and in a great Council held at *Windsor*, the Archbishop of *Tuam*, and other Ambassadors from *Roderick*, Chief Monarch of *Ireland*, came and acknowledged their Dependance on *England*, and were taken into the King's Protection. About the same time a Marriage was concluded between *William the Good*, King of *Sicily*, and *Joanna* the King's Daughter.

1177.

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A great Council was held at *Northampton* the following Year, by whose Advice the King divided *England* into six Circuits, for every one of which he appointed three itinerant Judges; two or three Years after it was divided

divided into four Circuits, and five Judges appointed for each. About the same time he demolish'd most of the Castles that remain'd in *England*, observing that they had serv'd chiefly to harbour his disaffected Subjects in the late War.

The King designing to erect *Ireland* into a Kingdom, and constitute his youngest Son *John*, now eleven Years of Age, first Sovereign of it, sent an Ambassador to *Rome* to obtain the Pope's Consent; but his Holiness did not think fit to indulge him in this particular. The same Year the King purchas'd the Earldom of *March* in *France* for fifteen thousand Pounds. What Occurrences happen'd in the five following Years, our Historians have not thought fit to transmit to Posterity; probably the Nation enjoy'd a profound Quiet, neither disturb'd by Foreign or Domestick Wars, Plague or Famine, the usual Subjects of their Labours; and it seem'd perfectly needless to acquaint us only that things went on in the usual Course: only they observe, that *Thomas of Becket* being the favourite Saint of the Age, the *French* King came in Pilgrimage to his Tomb to implore the Health of his eldest Son in the Year 1179, being met at *Dover* by King *Henry*, and conducted by him to *Canterbury*. King *Lewis* spent two Days in Prayer before the Archbishop's Tomb, where he offer'd a weighty golden Cup, and afterwards made the Monks a Grant of an hundred Measures of Wine annually, with the Liberty of purchasing whatever his Kingdom afforded Duty free. Upon his Return he found his Son perfectly recover'd, which no doubt was ascrib'd to the Intercession of the new Saint. *Lewis* himself

1177. died in the Year 1180, and was succeeded by his Son *Philip Augustus*, for whose Health this Pilgrimage to *Becket's Tomb* was undertaken.

1182. King *Henry* having enjoy'd a long Calm of five or six Years, was again disturb'd by a Conspiracy of his Sons, who did not want Provocations. His eldest Son *Henry* had been long crown'd, but was not yet admitted to any Share in the Government. *Richard* his second Son was highly disgusted that *Alice* the *French King's* Daughter, to whom he was espous'd, was kept from him by his Father, with whom it was generally suppos'd she had a criminal Correspondence; and *Geoffry* his third Son, was yet excluded from the Government of his Dutchy of *Bretagne*, though he was now twenty-four Years of Age and upwards: Add to this, that their Father still kept Queen *Eleanor* their Mother closely confin'd, notwithstanding they had frequently address'd him to set her at Liberty. The old King however was not out of hopes of dissolving the Confederacy he understood was forming against him, by setting his Sons at Variance: He put his eldest Son therefore upon demanding that his Brothers *Richard* and *Geoffry* should do him Homage, the one for *Aquitain*, the other for *Bretagne*, of which Dutchies they enjoy'd only the bare Titles. But the young Princes saw through the Stratagem, and became the more firmly united; and would probably have rais'd such a Storm as it would have been difficult for their Father to have appeas'd, if his eldest Son *Henry* had not been taken off at the Instant they were about to have appear'd in Arms. The young King was at this Time in *Aquitain*, inciting the

the Subjects of that Dutchy to a Revolt; but finding himself very ill, he resorted to the Castle of *Martel* in *Quercy*, where apprehending he should die, he sent to beg his Father's Pardon for his undutiful Behaviour, and desired to see him, the old King sent him a Ring as a Mark of his Forgiveness, but was too Cautious to trust himself in the Quarter of a Son that had so lately been his Enemy. The young King finding himself at the Point of Death, as an Evidence of his Sincerity, caus'd himself to be cloath'd in Sackcloth, and laid upon a Heap of Ashes, with a Rope about his Neck, and in this Condition having confess'd and lamented his Rebellion against his Father, he receiv'd the Eucharist, and Young soon after expir'd; which when his Father King receiv'd Advice of, he appear'd infinitely concern'd, Death having defac'd the Memory of all past Offences. He died in the 28th Year of his Age, and the 14th after his Coronation, but as he never had any Share in the Government, he is not plac'd in the Number of our reigning Kings. His Wife Queen *Margaret* resided for some Time at *Paris*, in the Court of her Brother King *Philip*, and was afterwards married to *Bela* King of *Hungary*. However afflicting the Death of the young King might be to his Father, certain it is, that this Event defeated a Conspiracy which in all probability would have been fatal to the old King; but his surviving Sons did not think fit to enter upon Action after his Death.

All Things remain'd perfectly quiet, nor do we meet with any thing considerable in the Histories of these Times, till the Year 1185, when *Heraclius*, Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, find-

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1183.

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John

John

Victory

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and

1184. ing King *Henry* to be the most potent Monarch in the Christian World, applied himself to this Prince for Assistance against the Saracens, offering him the Crown of *Jerusalem*, which he pretended belong'd to him, as he was the Son of *Geoffrey* Earl of *Anjou*, the Brother of *Foulk* the late King. But

A Crusade proposed.

1185.

King *Henry* advising with his Grand Council on this Overture, it was not thought expedient he should accept the Crown of *Jerusalem*, which would have oblig'd him to have gone thither in Person, but rather to promote the Enterprize by granting a Sum of Money towards it. This expedient was neither acceptable to the Pope or to the Patriarch; the latter is said to have denounc'd a Curse against him for refusing that Crown; and the Writers of those Times ascribe all the Misfortunes that happen'd to King *Henry* in the latter part of his Reign, to his Impiety, as they term it, in not accepting the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*. Tho' the King appear'd averse to this Eastern Expedition, we find the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and several other Spiritual and Temporal Peers, actually took upon them the Cross, and engag'd in this Holy War.

Prince *John* made Viceroy of *Ireland*.

And about this Time the Pope consented to the King's making one of his Sons King of *Ireland*, and sent him a Crown of Peacock's Feathers to crown him; but he reserv'd by his Bull the Duties of *Peter-pence*, and such other Perquisites from that Nation, as were payable by the People of *England* to the Holy See! Whereupon the King knighted his Son *John*, and sent him to *Ireland*, giving him the Title of *Lord of Ireland*; for he did not think fit to Crown him King, as is said,

said, least his Son *Richard* should expect the same Indulgence as to *England*. *John* was receiv'd by the Archbishop of *Dublin*, and the People of that Nation, as their Sovereign, with great Solemnity, and at first seem'd very acceptable to them; but before the End of the Year there happen'd so many Misunderstandings and Quarrels between that Prince's Court and the *Irish* Nobility, that King *Henry* thought it proper to recal him.

Prince *Richard*, now the King's eldest Son, weary of leading an unactive Life, and still disgusted that he enjoy'd only the Title of Duke of *Aquitain* without the Power, resorted to that Province, assuming the Government of it without his Father's Consent, and the Inhabitants glad of having a Prince to reside amongst them, generally acknowledg'd him for their Sovereign. His next Attempt was upon *Anjou*, where the People in like manner submitted to him; and afterwards upon some Quarrel between him and his Brother *Geoffery*, he invaded *Bretagne*: *Geoffery* rais'd what Forces he could assemble on the sudden, and gave him Battle, but was defeated. Possibly one Reason of this Insult was, that the old King their Father had put *Geoffery* into the Possession of *Bretagne*, and left him, who was the eldest Brother, without any Command. *Richard*, notwithstanding his Victory, apprehending the Resentment of his Father, retir'd into *Poitou*, where he was fortifying himself, when he receiv'd a Message from the old King, that on Condition he would relinquish the Government of *Aquitain*, he should retain that of *Poitou*; threatening that if he refus'd to comply with this Proposal, he would not only march against him in Person,

1185. Person, but disinherit him of all his Dominions: Whereupon Prince *Richard* submitted-
 Submits. and reconcil'd himself to his Father. About the same Time, his Brother *Geoffery* being at a Tournament at *Paris*, was unfortunately thrown from his Horse and kill'd, according to the generality of our *English* Historians; but those of *France* relate, that he died of a Fever: Possibly the Bruises he receiv'd by the Fall might throw him into a Fever, and so neither of them much in the wrong, however their Relations may seem to contradict each other.

Prince *Arthur* left behind him a Daughter, nam'd *Eleanor*, and his Dutcheſs enſeint of a Son, born some time after the Decease of his Father, and baptiz'd by the Name of *Arthur*.

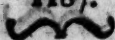
King *Henry* propos'd to the States of *Bretagne*, his being Guardian to the two Infants, as he was their Grandfather, on which Pretence he would have had the Administration of the Government of that Dutchy put into his Hands again; but in this he was oppos'd by *Constance* their Mother, who insisted that not only the Guardianship of the Children belong'd to her, but that indeed they had no Claim to it during her Life, *Geoffry* her late Husband enjoying it but in her Right, on whose Death it reverted to her again. King *Henry* however by his powerful Influence, obtain'd the Consent of the States, that all Acts of State should be done in joint Names of the Mother and the Son; that they should swear Fealty to *Arthur* as their Sovereign; and tho' the Mother was to be admitted Guardian, no Affairs of Consequence should be transacted without King *Henry's* Concurrence.

Philip

Philip King of *France* observing the Dissensions in the Royal Family of *England*, hop'd to make an Advantage of them at this time, and recover some of those Provinces they were possess'd of in *France*; and that he might not want a Colour to begin Hostilities, he summon'd Prince *Richard* to appear at the *French* Court, and do him Homage for the Earldom of *Poitou*: At the same time he requir'd King *Henry* to deliver him up the *Vexin*, which had been given his Sister *Margaret* as her Dowry, when she married his Son the late King *Henry*. But the Father and Son uniting their Forces against the *French* King, he was oblig'd to desist from his Demands, and beg a two Years Truce, during the Continuance whereof Prince *Richard* coming to pay King *Philip* a visit, they contracted a very great Intimacy, insomuch that *Richard* laid open all his Grievs, in relation to the Usage he receiv'd from his Father. *Philip* endeavour'd to enflame the Differences between them, suggesting that there was Reason to fear the old King would constitute his Brother *John* his Successor, on whom he was daily heaping his Favours; but he gave *Richard* to understand he should not want his Assistance to secure the Succession in his Family. *Richard* reflecting how useful a Friend *Philip* might be in all Events, notwithstanding his Father frequently press'd him to Return, continu'd at the *French* Court after the Truce was ended, alledging for the Reason of his Refusal, that King *Henry* kept his Wife from him, and would not suffer him to consummate his Marriage with her; and that he receiv'd Intelligence that his Father design'd to make him Prisoner, and advance *John* his younger Brother

Prince
Richard
joining the
French
King
against his
Father
and re-
solves
him to
very low
state

1187.



Prince
Richard
joins the
French
King a-
gainst his
Father
and re-
duces
him to a
very low
State.

ther to the Throne. The old King finding how *Philip* had impos'd on his Son *Richard*, in order to make an Advantage of their Misunderstandings, dispatch'd a Gentleman privately to him, who representing that all these Caresses he receiv'd at the *French* Court were with no other Design than to ruin both of them, *Richard* left the Court of *France* abruptly and return'd to his Father, and the War was about to be renew'd between the two Kings, when Advice came to *Europe* that the City of *Jerusalem* was taken by Sultan *Saladin*, and *Guy Lufignan* the King of that City made Prisoner; whereupon a Truce was agreed on, in order to undertake a Crusade for the Recovery of the *Holy Land*: But a Quarrel happening soon after between Prince *Richard* and the Earl of *Tbolouse*, in which the *French* King and the King of *England* at length became Parties, the Expedition to the *Holy Land* was dropp'd again, and the War between the two Monarchs renew'd; and *Richard* went over a second time to the *French*, for what Reason History does not inform us: but as most of the Provinces belonging to *England* took part with the *French* King and Prince *Richard*, King *Henry* found himself unable to carry on the War with any Success, and therefore propos'd a Treaty of Peace, in which his Enemies insisted that the Marriage between Prince *Richard* and the Princess *Alice* should be immediately consummated, and that the Prince should be Crown'd King in his Father's Life-time that there might be no Disputes about the Succession; neither of which Propositions could King *Henry* well comply with. The Intimacy between the King and the Princess *Alice* is suppos'd to render the

the first impracticable, and *Henry* had too lately experienc'd the ill Consequence of Crowning a Son in his life-time to consent to the latter. In a future Treaty it was insisted that King *Henry* should take his Son *John* with him to the *Holy Land*, to prevent his possessing of himself of the Throne of *England* in his Absence; but *Henry* refusing to submit to these Terms, the War was again reviv'd, and *Richard* did Homage to the *French* King for all the Provinces in *France* belonging to *England*, *Philip* pretending that the Father had forfeited them by making War on his Sovereign.

During the Continuance of this War, 'tis said, nothing went so near the King's Heart as the Loss of the City of *Mans*, where he was born, which was taken from him by the united Forces of the *French* King and of his Sons *Richard* and *John*. Upon this Occasion, 'tis related, he curs'd the Hour of his Birth, and solemnly invok'd the Vengeance of Heaven upon his rebellious Children; and finding he was no longer able to bear up against such a Confederacy, he procur'd another Treaty to be set on Foot by the Mediation of the Pope's Legate, wherein it was agreed that the King of *England's* Subjects on both sides the Water should swear to the Succession of Prince *Richard*, that King *Henry* should pay the *French* King twenty thousand Marks towards his Charges of the War, that the *English* Barons should give their Oaths for the Performance of the Treaty, and that the two Kings should assemble their Forces near *Vezelay* and begin their march together towards the *Holy Land*. These Terms appear'd so hard to the old King, who had always been victorious before

1187. this last unhappy War, especially as they were impos'd upon him by his own Children, (without whose Assistance the *French King* was never able to appear in the Field against him) that he fell Sick at *Chinon*, and perceiving he had not long to live, he caus'd himself to be carried into the Church and laid before the Altar, where having confess'd his Sins and the Justice of Providence in this last mortifying Dispensation, he humbly resign'd his Soul into the Hands of God, dying on the sixth Day of *July* in the fifty-sixth Year of his Age, *Anno 1189*, having reign'd thirty-four Years eight Months and upwards.

King
Henry
dies.

He was buried in the Choir of a Nunnery that he had founded at *Font Everard* in *Normandy*, whither his Son King *Richard* coming to meet the Corpse, some of our Historians relate that it gush'd out with Blood, whereupon that Prince shed a Flood of Tears, looking upon himself to have been instrumental in his Father's Death; which puts me in mind of the vulgar Opinion, that a Corpse which has had foul Play will bleed afresh at the Approach of the Murderer. I must confess I cannot give entire Credit to this, but every one is at Liberty to believe as he pleases in an Affair of this Nature.

His Per-
son and
Cha-
racter.

As to the Person of this Prince, he was short and fat, open-breasted, and of a sanguine Complexion, us'd much Exercise and eat little Meat, to prevent his growing too Corpulent. He obtain'd the Name of *Short* or *Court Mantle* from his bringing over the Use of short Cloaks from *Anjou*. He is charg'd with two Vices, Ambition and Lust, which few Princes are entirely free from; the first of these infinitely the most destructive to the Subjects,

Subjects, as it occasions perpetual Wars, which are not only destructive to Commerce but require large Aids from the Subjects to maintain them ; but his Amours were the greatest Disadvantage to himself, as they made his whole Family his Enemies, and tarnish'd all the Glories he had acquir'd in the beginning of his Reign : 'Tis true, he wanted neither Bravery nor Conduct, but his vagrant Lusts occasion'd such a strong Conspiracy against him as the greatest Wisdom and Courage could not defeat, and which oblig'd him to submit to such ignominious Terms as in a very short time broke his Heart, notwithstanding he was then possess'd of a greater Treasure than any Prince in *Europe* ; and indeed to his keeping a full Treasury are principally to be ascrib'd the Successes he met with during his Reign. It appears he obtain'd as considerable Advantages by his Purse as by his Sword. He had certainly some Sense of Religion, by his dying in that penitent manner before the High Altar. His Foundation of the Cathedral Church of *Bristol*, the Priors of *Dover*, *Stonely* and *Basingwark* also were agreeable to the Religion of those times ; but the Injustice of some of his Acquisitions, and his various Intrigues with the Fair, sufficiently demonstrate that he frequently dropp'd his Principles to indulge his Ambition, or an Amorous Constitution.

He married *Eleanor* the Daughter of *William* Duke of *Guienne* or *Aquitain*, divorc'd from *Lewis* the King of *France* after she had had two Daughters by him, on Pretence of her being within the fourth Degree of Kindred, but in Reality upon his Suspicion of her being too familiar with a *Syrian* Nobleman

His Marriage and Issue.

1187.



while she was with him in *Palestine*. King *Henry* had by her five Sons, *William*, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Geoffry* and *John*; and three Daughters, *Maude* married to *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*, *Eleanor* married to *Alphonso*, the eighth of that Name, King of *Castile*, and *Jane* or *Jone* married to *William* King of *Sicily*. Of his Sons *William* died young: *Henry* born the second Year of his Reign was Crown'd King with his Father in the eighteenth Year, and died the nine and twentieth Year, and was buried at *Roan*, married to *Margaret* Daughter of *Lewis* King of *France*, but left no Issue, *Richard* born at *Oxford* (in the King's Palace there call'd *Beaumont*) in the fourth Year of his Father's Reign, and succeeded him in the Kingdom. *Geoffry* born the fifth Year of his Father's Reign, married *Constance* Daughter and Heir of *Conan* Earl of *Little-Britain* in the fourteenth Year, and in the two and thirtieth died, leaving by his Wife *Constance* two Daughters and a posthumous Son nam'd *Arthur*. *John* his youngest, call'd *John without Land* because he had no Land assign'd him in his Father's time, born the twelfth Year of his Reign, and succeeded his Brother *Richard* in the Kingdom.

Concu-
bines.

He had several Concubines, among whom our Historians take particular Notice of two, viz. *Rosamond* the Daughter of *Walter* Lord *Clifford*, whom he kept at *Woodstock*, and the Wife of Sir *Robert Blewet*. By *Rosamond* he had two Sons, *William* surnam'd *Longsword*, Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Geoffry* who was first Bishop of *Lincoln*, and afterwards Archbishop of *York*. He had also a Son by the Lady *Blewet* nam'd *Morgan*, Provost of *Beverley*, whom the Pope refus'd to Confirm in the

the Bishoprick of *Durham*, to which he was elected, on Account of his Illegitimacy. 1187.

To this Prince's Title it has been objected, The Title of
1. That his Mother *Maud* the Empress, from whom he deriv'd his Right, was living many Years after his coming to the Crown. 2. That the Descendants of *Edgar Atheling* being nearer in Blood, ought to have enjoy'd the Crown before him. *Hen. II.*

To the first of these Objections it is answer'd, That it is highly probable his Mother made over her Interest in the Kingdom of *England* to him, as it appears she and his Father *Geoffry* did to the Dukedom of *Normandy*.

That if the Empress was Content to resign to him the Dutchy of *Normandy*, of which she and her Husband were in quiet Possession, it is not at all unlikely she should yield to him the Crown of *England* which she had put him upon recovering by Force, and in which Attempt he had so frequently, by her Direction, hazarded his Person.

That the Empress acquiescing in the Treaty with King *Stephen*, whereby her Son was appointed to succeed him, and the Joy with which our Historians relate she receiv'd him at his Return to *Normandy* amount almost to a Demonstration of her Concurrence.

As to the Descendants of *Edgar Atheling*, it no where appears that they laid Claim to the Crown of *England* in this or the two preceding Reigns; on the contrary, *David* King of *Scotland*, Nephew and Heir of *Edgar*, swore to the Empress *Maud's* Succession, and asserted her Right against King *Stephen*, and by his steady Adherence to her Cause contributed very much to the Advancement of her Son

1187. Son *Henry* to the Throne, which is deem'd no small Evidence of his having quitted all Pretensions to the Crown of *England*, and consequently the Right of *Henry* could not be impeach'd by either of these Pretences. But it may be remember'd further, that even the Right of Inheritance pretended to be in the Descendants of *Edmund Ironside*, the Ancestor of *Edgar Atbeling*, has been shewn to be a Mistake, for that *Edmund* really made a Cession of the Kingdom to *Canute*, from whom the *Confessor* deriv'd his Right.

Taxes in
this
Reign.

The Taxes we meet with in this Reign were as follows, viz. A Scutage in the beginning of his Reign, no Account what it amounted to. A second Scutage to raise Men for the Siege of *Tbolouse* in the 5th Year of his Reign 1159, amounting to 180,000*l*. A third Scutage in the 7th Year of his Reign, at two Marks every Knight's Fee. In the 12th Year of his Reign two Pence in the Pound for the first Year, and a Penny in the Pound for four Years after, of all Rents and Moveables. In the 14th of his Reign a fourth Scutage at a Mark a Knight's Fee. In the 18th of his Reign a fifth Scutage uncertain what it was. In the last Year of his Reign a Tenth of all Moveables for the *Cruizado*.

C H A P. XVIII.

The History of RICHARD I.

Rich. I.
his Ac-
cession.
1189.

RICHARD I. the eldest surviving Son of *Henry II.* was about one and thirty Years of Age at his Accession: He was firnam'd *Cœur de Leon* from the Bravery and Intrepidity he manifested in the most desperate Adven-



RICHARD. I.



Adventures. This Prince had no sooner perform'd his Father's Funeral Obsequies but he dismiss'd all such from his Court as had encourag'd his undutiful Behaviour in the late Reign; and while he remain'd in *Normandy* to settle the Affairs of his transmarine Dominions, he committed the Administration of the Government in *England* to his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, of which she receiv'd Advice at the same time she was releas'd from her Imprisonment. This Princess had been closely confin'd twelve, or according to some, sixteen, Years by the late King, and having thus long experienc'd the want of Liberty, 'tis observ'd, became extremely Compassionate towards others who were in the like Circumstances, ordering abundance of unhappy People that were in Prison to be reliev'd or discharg'd.

The King having continu'd about a Month on the other side of the Water, came over into *England*, and was Crown'd at *Westminster* by *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Canterbury* on the third of *September*, 1189. The *Jews*, it seems, were prohibited to be at the Coronation, under the Apprehension of some Enchantments they might exercise on this Occasion; but some of them having found Means to crowd into the Abby, were discover'd, and pull'd to Pieces by the Mob; nor did the Riot rest here, but many of them were murder'd and their Houses burnt, in *London*, *York*, and several other Cities of the Kingdom, as has been already observ'd in the 14th Vol. of *Modern History*, p. 375. Soon after the Ceremony of the Coronation was over, the King began his Preparations for the *Crusade*, which he and the *French King* had

1189. had agreed to undertake, immediately after the Death of the late King.

Ri-
chard's
Prepara-
tions for
the Cru-
sade.

He found a very full Treasury on his Accession, not less than an hundred thousand Marks, but this fell very far short of the Expence he propos'd to be at in this Expedition to the *Holy Land*, and therefore he made use of various Means, some of them not very Justifiable. For raising Money from the late Treasurer, Judge *Glanville*, and others in the Administration, he extorted vast Sums on pretence of Mismanagement or Misbehaviour in their respective Posts. Having caused a new Seal to be made, 'tis said, he oblig'd all People who had any Grants under the former Seal, to come and have them confirm'd under this, for which they paid such Sums as he was pleas'd to demand. He also rais'd a great Deal of Money, by Sale of the Crown Lands and Offices. To *Hugh Bishop of Durham* he sold the Earldom of *Northumberland*, and Mannor of *Sudbury*, and receiv'd a thousand Marks more of the same Prelate, for making him one of his Justiciaries in his Absence. To *William King of Scots* he sold the Castles of *Berwick* and *Roxburgh* for ten thousand Marks, relinquishing the Homage that was extorted from that Prince, when a Prisoner. The Bishops and Abbots purchas'd a great Part of the Mannors and Lands belonging to the Crown; and *William Longchamp* Bishop of *Ely* advanc'd three thousand Marks to be continu'd Lord Chancellor. Some of the King's Council representing the ill Consequences the alienating the Lands belonging to the Crown might be attended with, he answer'd, *He would sell London it self, if he could meet with*

a Chapman, to enable him to enter upon this Expedition. And nothing being now preach'd up but the Honour and Merit of undertaking the Cross, Multitudes of People every Day lifted themselves in this Service, inso-much that the King observing there were greater Numbers assembled than there could be found Vessels to transport, or Provisions to maintain, caus'd it to be proclaim'd, that if any of them had hastily or unadvisedly undertaken the Cross, and had since alter'd their Minds, they should be dismiss'd, on paying a Sum of Money; and he obtain'd a Declaration from the Pope, that this should be deem'd as meritorious as if they had actually perform'd their Pilgrimage to the *Holy Land*. Whereupon several thought fit to contribute Money and remain at Home with their Families; and so vast a Treasure was rais'd by these various Arts, that the King was enabled to fit out the finest Fleet that had ever appear'd on the Ocean, nor were his Land Forces inferior to them.

Before the King enter'd upon this Expedition, or rather in the Voyage, he made his Will, and appointed his Nephew, *Arthur*, the Son of his Brother *Geoffrey*, his Successor; and that his Brother *John* might not be tempted to raise Disturbances in his Absence, from the Straitness of his Fortune and Circumstances, he conferr'd on him six large Earldoms, besides many other Castles and Mannors, and married him to *Avis*, or *Ha-wise*, the Heiress of the County of *Gloucester*, but did not think fit to trust him with any Share in the Administration of the Government, lest his Ambition, which he was not unacquainted with, should prompt him to u-

1189. surp his Throne, or defeat the Succession of Prince *Arthur*. The King therefore constituted his Favourite, Chancellor *Longchamp* Bishop of *Ely*, Chief Justiciary; and prevail'd with the Pope to nominate him his Legate, to give him the greater Authority; tho' his being a Foreigner, a *Norman* of mean Extraction, he might have foreseen would not render him very acceptable to the *English*. 'Tis true, *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham* was join'd in Commission with him for that Part of *England* which lies North of the *Humber*; and *William* Earl of *Arundel*, and six other Noblemen were appointed to be of his Council, without whose Concurrence he was to transact nothing of Moment. But *Longchamp* soon obtain'd the sole Government of the Kingdom, and excluded the Bishop of *Durham* and his Associates, and being possess'd both of the Spiritual and Temporal Swords, exercis'd a more unlimited Authority, for a Time, than any Prince that ever sat upon the Throne. King *Richard* having put the Government into such Hands as he most relied on, that the Nation might not be molested during his Absence by any neighbouring Power, he invited *William* King of *Scotland*, and *Rees* Prince of *Wales* to a Conference, in order to settle all Matters in Dispute between them. The King of *Scotland* accordingly came into *England*, and concluded an Alliance with King *Richard*, which our Historians remember to his Honour, that he religiously observ'd, during all the Distresses *Richard* was afterwards reduc'd to. But *Rees* Prince of *Wales*, not having that Respect paid him, which he apprehended was due to him, on his Arrival in *England*, return'd home

home without seeing the King, who being ready to embark, left it to his Ministers to conclude the Treaty with *Wales*. 1189.

The King having transported his Forces into *Normandy*, join'd the *French* Army at *The Vezelai*, where they halted for some time, on account of the Death of King *Philip's* Queen; and before they began their March a Treaty was concluded, whereby it was agreed that these Princes should mutually assist each other in the Defence of their several Territories during this Expedition. The Barons of both Nations also solemnly took their Oaths, not to excite or suffer any War or Disturbance in the Dominions of either Prince, while the Holy War was finish'd; and the Bishops threatned to excommunicate all Persons who should violate this Agreement. After which the two Monarchs began their March with their united Forces, as far as *Lyons*, where they separated, the *French* King in order to pass the *Alps* and embark his Troops at *Genoa*; and the King of *England* to meet his Fleet at *Marseilles*. But King *Richard* not finding his Fleet at that Port, after he had waited eight or ten Days in Expectation of them, hir'd some Vessels and set Sail for *Sicily*, the Place appointed for the general Rendezvous. The King in his Passage thither, happening to come to an Anchor at the Mouth of the *Tyber*, the Pope sent the Bishop of *Ostia*; to invite him to *Rome*, which the King declin'd, it seems, on Account of some Foul play his Holiness had been guilty of in the Disposall of several Bishopricks in his Dominions, which he sold to the highest Bidders.

E e e 2 King

1190. King *Richard* having at length join'd his Fleet, came to an Anchor at *Messina*, on the 23d of *September*; to the great Terror of the *Sicilians*; nor were the *French* well pleas'd to see so vast an Armament, which seem'd to eclipse the Glory of their Monarch, or according to *Rapin*, *The King of France beheld with Regret, the Forces of his Vassal Superior to his own.* As if the King of *England* had been possess'd only of some petty Province in *France*, which held of that Crown; whereas in truth, he was then actually Master of half *France* as well as *England*, and the *French* were always forc'd to submit to such Terms as the Kings of *England* were pleas'd to impose on them, unless when the *French* found an Opportunity of sowing Divisions in the Royal Family of *England*, or among the People, they were never able to resist the Forces of the Kings of *England*, when their Subjects were united, notwithstanding what *Rapin* and the *Gascon* Tribe may insinuate to the contrary. But to proceed.

Tancred the Bastard then King of *Sicily*, had usurp'd that Throne, and imprison'd *Joanna*, King *Richard's* Sister, the Dowager of the late King *William*, for taking part with the Emperor, who claim'd the Kingdom of *Sicily* in Right of *Constance* his Wife, the Heiress of the late King. Upon the approach of the *English* Fleet, *Tancred* thought fit to set the Dowager Queen *Joanna* at Liberty, dreading the Resentment of the King her Brother; but *Richard* would not be satisfied with this, he made *Tancred* promise to pay his Sister the Queen twenty thousand Ounces of Gold, in lieu of her Dower, and the like Sum to himself, as a Satisfaction for the

1191.

the Legacies, the late King *William* bequeath'd to his Father *Henry II.* and *Tancred* delaying to pay the Sums he had promis'd, and his People offering some Abuses to the *English*, who were quarter'd in *Messina*, King *Richard* assembled his Forces, assaulted the City and took it, setting up his Colours on the Walls, as well in that Part of the Town assign'd for the Quarters of the *French*, as that where the *English* were quarter'd; at which King *Philip* was highly affronted. King *Richard* thereupon order'd his Colours to be taken down on the *French* side of the Town, declaring he kept Possession of the City, only till he could obtain Satisfaction of *Tancred*, and to prevent all Occasion of Dispute, put the Place into the Hands of the Knights Templars, till Matters should be adjusted. *Tancred* coming shortly after to *Messina*, gave King *Richard* Satisfaction in all his Demands, whereupon the Town was restor'd to him again, and a Marriage was at the same Time agreed on between *Arthur* Duke of *Bretagne*, Nephew of King *Richard*, and *Tancred's* Daughter. The King of *Sicily* also agreed to furnish six large Ships and ten Gallies, to assist in the Expedition to the *Holy Land*. Peace being thus restor'd, *Tancred* discover'd to King *Richard* some Designs of the *French* King against his Person, which the King of *England* charging *Philip* with, he replied, That they were only Intentions intended to dissolve their Union, and at the same time let *Richard* know, That unless he solemniz'd his Marriage with his Sister *Alice*, he would be his irreconcilable Enemy. King *Richard* answer'd, That the Princess had a Child by his Father *Henry II.* which was a sufficient Reason against the

King
Richard
takes
Messina,

Misunderstand
ings between
the two
Kings.

the

1191. *the Celebrating of that Marriage.* At which *Philip* seem'd surpriz'd, and dropp'd the Discourse. The two Kings, by the Mediation of Friends, were however reconcil'd in Appearance, tho' it is pretty evident they were never so in Reality. After these mutual Re-proaches, King *Richard* ever gave Credit to *Tancred's* Suggestions, and *Philip* could not brook the Discovery that had been made of his Sister's Failings; probably his Uneasiness was the Occasion of his leaving *Sicily*, and sailing for *Palestine* before King *Richard* was ready.

Queen
Eleanor
and the
Princess
*Beringa-
ria* ar-
rive in
Sicily.

The same Day the *French* Fleet set sail, Queen *Eleanor* arriv'd in *Sicily*, with the Princess *Beringaria*, the Daughter of *Sanctius* King of *Navarre*, who was contracted to King *Richard*. *Eleanor* the Queen Mother, after a short Stay in *Sicily*, return'd to *England*, but *Joan* Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, and the Princess *Beringaria*, accompanied King *Richard* in his Voyage. When the *English* Fleet sail'd from *Messina*, it consisted of an hundred and fifty large Ships, fifty-three Gallies, besides a Multitude of Store-Ships and Tenders; and the Land Forces, according to some Writers, were thirty thousand Foot, and five Thousand Horse, which I presume were embark'd at *Marseilles*, for the Horse could not easily have born such a long Voyage by Sea, as that must have been from *England* to *Palestine*.

The *English* Fleet meeting with stormy Weather between *Rhodes* and *Cyprus*, two of the King's Ships were driven upon the Island of *Cyprus*, in one of which was the Queen of *Sicily* and the Princess *Baringaria*; they

1191.

they would have put into the Port of *Limezum*, but *Isaac* the King or Emperor of the Country, as he was call'd, was so far from admitting them, that he seiz'd the Effects of several other Vessels that were stranded, and made the Crews that belong'd to them Prisoners, refusing to return them; at which King *Richard* was so exasperated, that he made a Descent on the Island with his Land Forces, conquer'd the Town of *Limezum*, and entirely defeated the Troops of *Isaac*, making both him and his Daughter Prisoners. *Isaac*, it seems, desiring not to be laid in Irons, was bound in Silver Fetters; but according to some Writers, King *Richard* was too much a Slave to the Princess his Daughter, to use her or her Father ill; but this seems to be a malicious Insinuation, because in this Island, and at this Time it was, that King *Richard* solemniz'd his Nuptials with the Princess *Beringaria*, to Honour which, and to beg his Assistance in the recovery of the *Holy Land*, came *Guido* King of *Jerusalem*, and *Geoffry* his Brother, *Raymond* Prince of *Antioch*, and several other *Syrian* Princes, to the Island of *Cyprus*. The King having constituted *Richard Comville* and *Robert Turnham*, his Vice-roys in *Cyprus*, and order'd that the Inhabitants should enjoy their antient Laws and Liberties, as in the Reign of *Manuel* of *Constantinople* the *Greek* Emperor, their former Sovereign, set Sail for the Coasts of *Syria*.

In the mean Time, the Administration of Bishop the Government in *England* by Bishop *Long-Long-champ*, gave great Disgust to the whole Nation; his being a Foreigner had render'd him an Object of the Peoples Hatred, but when

Cyprus
con-
quer'd
by King
Richard.

Long-champ's
arbitrary
Admini-
stration.

1191. when they saw him deprive the Bishop of *Durham* of his Share in the Government, and refusing the Advice of the Council, without whose Concurrence the King had commanded him to transact nothing of Consequence: When they saw him taking State upon him like a Sovereign Prince, never appearing abroad without a thousand or fifteen hundred Men in his Retinue, they were out of all Patience, and wrote to the King to inform him of the Bishop's Conduct; and both the Ecclesiastical and Temporal Peers, with Prince *John* at their Head, enter'd into a Confederacy against the Justiciary, which he discover'd upon the following Occasion, *Geoffry* the natural Son of the late King *Henry*, having been elected Archbishop of *York*, for what Reason does not appear, was prohibited by King *Richard* to take Possession of that See, and order'd to remain in *Normandy* till he return'd from the *Holy Land*. *Geoffry* not regarding this Injunction of his Brother's, embark'd for *England*, and landed at *Dover*; whereupon *Longchamp* the Regent, order'd him to be apprehended; of which *Geoffry* having Notice, took Sanctuary in a Church, but was dragg'd from the High Altar, there standing in his Pontifical Habit, and carried Prisoner to *Dover-Castle*. Prince *John* and the Lords hereupon demanded that the Regent would release the Archbishop of *York*, and upon his Refusal, summon'd him to answer his Conduct before an Assembly of the Spiritual and Temporal Barons, held at *St. Paul's* in *London*.

Here

1193.

Here they charg'd the Regent with Arbitrary and Exorbitant Proceedings in his Administration, and the Archbishop of Rouen and the Earl of Pembroke produc'd Letters Patents from the King, dated at *Melford*, constituting them Commissioners with him in the Government of the Kingdom: But *Longchamp* insisting they should have no Share in the Administration, the Peers depriv'd him of his Office of Chief Justiciary, expell'd him from the Government of the Tower and *Windsor*, and admitted the Archbishop of Rouen to take upon him the Administration of the Government in his stead.

Longchamp depriv'd of the Government.

Longchamp being thus depriv'd of all Power, and apprehensive of the Fury of the People, disguis'd himself in the Habit of a Woman, with a Web of Cloth under his Arm, and in this Condition was taken near *Dover*, sitting upon a Rock, and waiting for a Vessel to take him on Board; he was committed Prisoner to *Dover-Castle*, whither the People follow'd him, loading him with Reproaches, and all manner of opprobrious Language, as is usual in the like turns of Fortune; however the Peers thought fit to release him in a little time, and suffer him to go over into *Normandy*, from whence he sent miserable Complaints to the Pope, of the Usage he had met with in *England*. Prince *John* in the mean Time endeavour'd to render himself popular, particularly in *London*, where he procur'd their Privileges to be confirm'd to them by the Regency, and the Citizens in return, promis'd to obey him as their Sovereign, if his Brother died without Issue. But to return to King *Richard* in the Holy Land.

The People swear to the Succession of Prince *John*.

1172.

Pale-
stine lost
by the
Divi-
sions of
the
Christi-
ans there.

The King on his Arrival there, found that *Jerusalem* had been lost more by the Divisions of the *Christian* Princes in *Palestine*, than the Forces the Infidels brought against them, for *Baldwin* the last King having no Issue, appointed his Nephew *Baldwin*, the Son of his Sister *Sybill*, his Successor, committing the Administration to *Raymond* Earl of *Tripoli*, during the Minority of his Nephew; but *Guy* of *Lusignan* afterwards marrying *Sybill*, claim'd the Guardianship of young *Baldwin*, and excluding *Raymond* from any Share in the Administration, is suppos'd to have poyson'd his Son-in-Law; but however that was, upon the Death of young *Baldwin* *Guy* took upon himself the Title of King of *Jerusalem*; whereupon *Raymond* Earl of *Tripoli* made War upon him, and being in a fair way of wresting the Kingdom of *Jerusalem* out of his Hands; *Guy* call'd in *Saladin* Sultan of the *Saracens* in *Egypt* to his Assistance, who taking Advantage of these Divisions among the *Christian* Princes, found means to possess himself of the Cities of *Acon*, *Azotus*, *Berytus*, *Ascalon*, and even of *Jerusalem* itself, which held out but one Month's Siege, being taken about ninety Years after it had been conquer'd by *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, and the rest of the *Christian* Princes concern'd in the first Crusade.

The
Kings of
England
and
France
retake
Acon.

The Kings of *England* and *France*, with an Army compos'd of most of the Nations of *Europe*, but principally of their own People, on their arrival in *Palestine*, sat down before the City of *Acon* or *Potelemais*, or rather reinforc'd the *Christian* Army which lay before that Place, for it had already been invested three Years, and a great deal of the best

best Blood of Christendom spilt in the Siege. The Town held out four Months after the arrival of the two Kings, and then surrender'd on the following Terms, viz. 1. That *Saladin* should restore the Holy Cross, which he took at the Siege of *Jerusalem*. 2. That he should set free fifteen hundred *Christian* Captives. 3. That the City and every Thing in it should be at the Disposal of the *Christians*. 4. That the Garrison should have their Lives on Performance of the Conditions. And 5. That *Saladin* should pay twenty thousand Pieces of Gold to the two Kings, towards the Charges of the War.

When the City was surrender'd, *Leopold* Duke of *Austria* planted his Colours on that part of the Walls which lay next to his Attack, but King *Richard* order'd them to be taken down, and only the Colours of the two Kings to remain upon the Walls; which so incens'd the Duke of *Austria*, that he immediately quitted the Service, waiting for an Opportunity to be reveng'd, and this he met with on King *Richard's* Return home through the *Austrian* Territories, as will be related hereafter.

Differences also Daily arose between the Kings of *England* and *France*, *Richard* had appear'd at the Siege of *Acon* to be a Prince of great Conduct as well as personal Valour, which had made him the Delight of the Soldiery, and gave him an Ascendant over the *French* King, who could not bear to see greater Honours paid to a Prince whom he look'd on as his Inferior, than to himself. He pretended that he ought to have had his Share in the Island of *Cyprus*, since it had been agreed, They should equally divide all that should

The
two
Kings
fall out.

1191.

be conquer'd in this Expedition. To which *Richard* reply'd, That was intended only of what they should acquire from the Infidels; whereas *Cyprus* was under the Dominion of a Christian Prince; besides the French King had seiz'd the Treasure and Goods belonging to the Earl of *Flanders*, who died lately, without offering to divide them with King *Richard*, and this he esteem'd a parallel Case.

The Contention between *Guy of Lusignan* and *Conrade* for the Title of King of *Jerusalem*, was another Occasion of Dispute. *Guy* claim'd that Crown by way of Prescription, having long possess'd it in Right of *Sybill* his Wife, and was supported in his Pretensions by King *Richard*; while *Conrade* insisted that *Sybill* being dead without Issue, as he had married her younger Sister, the Crown of *Jerusalem* belong'd to him, in her Right, in which he was countenanc'd by King *Philip*. And this occasion'd great Animosities among the Christian Princes, tho' *Jerusalem* was yet in the Hands of the *Saracens*.

About this Time a Contagious Distemper reign'd in the Christian Army, with which both Kings were seiz'd, but escap'd with the Loss of their Hair. The French King, however pretending he was too Weak to undergo the Fatigues of War, desir'd Leave of *Richard* to return home, for they had bound themselves by mutual Oaths, not to leave the Service but by Consent. *Richard* rightly conjecturing that it was not so much Want of Health as Want of Patience in the French King to see himself slighted, while the Glory of every Action was ascrib'd to the King of *England*, and apprehending that *Philip* would invade

invade his Territories, by way of Revenge, if he consented to his Return to *Europe*, did all that lay in his Power to prevail with him to stay in *Palestine*, till they should have made themselves Masters of *Jerusalem*; but finding him determin'd to Return to *France*, *Richard* oblig'd him to swear before his Departure, That he would protect the Territories belonging to the King of England till he should Return, and not suffer them to be Invaded or Damaged, either by his own Subjects or any other Power.

The King of *France* embarking soon afterwards for *Europe*, left behind him ten thousand Men under the Command of the Duke of *Burgundy*, giving that General Orders openly to concur with King *Richard* in his Enterprizes against the *Infidels*; but secretly, 'tis said, directed him to obstruct all his Designs, being sensible that *Richard* would run away with all the Glory of the Expedition, as he had done hitherto.

The *French* King was no sooner gone but *Saladin* *Richard* requir'd *Saladin* to perform the Articles agreed on at the Surrender of *Acon*, one of which was that he should release fifteen hundred *Christian* Captives. But *Saladin* conjecturing that the *Christians* who remain'd in *Palestine*, would not be able to effect any thing considerable, now one of the greatest Princes had withdrawn himself, became exceeding Insolent, and instead of releasing the Captives, caus'd every one of their Heads to be cut off, in the sight of the *Christian* Army; and this King *Richard*, and the Duke of *Burgundy* thought fit to Retaliate, by putting to Death all their Prisoners, particularly the Garrison of *Acon*, who remain'd

The
French
King re-
turns to
Europe.

murders
the *Chri-
stian*
Captives
which is
retalia-
ted on
the *In-
fidels*.

1191.

main'd as Hostages for the Performance of the Articles of Surrender; they were about two thousand seven hundred Men, of whom the *Christian* Generals did not save more than seven of the best Quality. This Execution of so many Men in cold Blood, tho' at first sight it may seem very barbarous, yet was absolutely necessary upon the Slaughter *Saladin* had made of the *English* Captives, to deter him from committing those Barbarities for the future: But the celebrated *Rapin*, who with the rest of the Writers of that Nation, are always representing the *English* as a bloody Generation, makes the King of *England* the Aggressor, insinuating that he murder'd his Prisoners first, which gave Occasion to *Saladin* to cut the Throats of the *Christian* Captives, and this is one of the numerous Instances of *Rapin's* pretended Impartiality; in treating of the *English*, he makes them abundantly more barbarous than their *Infidel* Enemies, tho' he had not the least Colour for such a Suggestion here, it being in reality contrary to the Accounts we meet with in every Writer of those Times.

The King of *England* soon let *Saladin* see, that he was not at all discourag'd by the Departure of his Allie of *France*, for he immediately begun his March, in order to besiege *Ascalon*, his Fleet attending him near the Coast, and furnishing the Army with Provisions as they march'd. *Saladin* hereupon assembled a prodigious Army, said to consist of three hundred thousand Men, posting himself in the way to obstruct the March of the *Christians*. *Richard*, notwithstanding the Superiority of the Enemy in Point of Numbers, resolv'd to attack them. *James*

of

of *Avesnes*, who commanded the Right Wing of the *Christians*, and the Duke of *Burgundy* who led the Left, were both of them so roughly dealt with, that they were upon the point of quitting the Field, when King *Richard*, who was at the Head of the Main Body, and had entirely broke that part of the *Saracen* Army he was engag'd with, sent Detachments to their Relief, and did not only restore the Battle, but entirely defeated the *Saracen* Army, there being no less than forty thousand of them kill'd upon the Spot.

1191.
King
Richard
gains a
Victory
over the
Saracens

In this Battle, according to the concurrent Testimony of our Historians, King *Richard* was equally admir'd for his Bravery and Conduct. When he had defeated the Body he was engag'd with, and was in full Pursuit of the flying Enemy, so soon as he receiv'd Advice of the Distress the Wings were in, he return'd from the Chase, and brought them off with Honour, nor was there a Man of any Figure lost on the *Christian* side, unless *James de Avesnes*.

Upon this Victory *Saladin* abandon'd the Towns of *Ascalon*, *Joppa*, and *Cæsarea*, having first demolish'd part of the Fortifications, and the *Christians* taking Possession of them, spent some Time in repairing the Works, designing to lay up Magazines here for the Service of their Troops, which seems to have been absolutely necessary in an Enemy's Country, notwithstanding King *Richard* is reflected on by some who understand but little of the Military Art, for not marching directly to *Jerusalem*, imagining that City would have surrender'd without making any Defence, the *Infidels* being in such a Consternation on the Loss of the late Battle.

1192.
Ascalon
and other
Towns
surrender
to the
Christians.

While

1192.

King
Richard
in dan-
ger of
being
made
Prisoner.

While *Joppa* and *Astalon* were fortifying, King *Richard* diverted himself with Hawking and Hunting, Exercises he was us'd to in his *European* Dominions, and having been carry'd by his Sport one Day to some distance from the *Christian* Army, he was surrounded by a Party of *Saracens*, not having more than five or six People in his Company, who made as brave a Defence as could be expected; but being at length overpower'd, he had infallibly been taken Prisoner if *William de Protellis*, one of his Gentlemen, had not cry'd out, *I am the King of England*, which drawing the Enemy after him, the King in the mean time clapp'd Spurs to his Horse and made his Escape; this gave King *Richard* such an Opinion of *Protellis* that he exchange'd ten *Saracen* Lords to redeem him.

He takes
a great
Caravan.

He is de-
serted by
the
French
and Ita-
lians and
oblig'd to
make a
Truce.

The Towns on the Coast being put into a Condition to defend themselves, King *Richard* march'd towards *Jerusalem*, and in his Way fell in with a great Caravan coming from *Babylon* under the Convoy of ten thousand Horse, whom he defeated, and thereby made himself Master of three thousand Camels laden with the Merchandize of *Persia* and the *Indies*, and several thousand Horses and Mules; but when he came within Sight of *Jerusalem*, and had taken a View of the Place, it appear'd to be of that Strength, and defended by such a numerous Garrison, that the taking of it was look'd upon to be impracticable so late in the Year: The Generals therefore agreed to put off the Siege of that City till the next Spring; but the Duke of *Burgundy* going off with the *French* Troops, as the Marquess of *Montferrat* did with those of *Italy*, and the *English* Troops being very much less'n'd

sen'd by Sickness or the Sword, King *Richard* 1191.
 found himself oblig'd to accept of a three Years Truce that was offer'd him by *Saladin*, proposing when he should be reinforc'd with fresh Supplies to return to the *Holy Land* again; and indeed the Condition of his Affairs in *Europe* would not suffer him to remain longer in the East, for the *French King* had threatned to invade *Normandy*, and *England* was distracted by Factions fomented by his Brother Prince *John*, who seem'd to have an Eye upon the Crown. By this Truce or temporary Peace it was agreed, that the Fortifications of *Ascalon* should be demolish'd, and not rebuilt by either Party: That the *Christians* should keep *Joppa* and *Acon* and the rest of the Towns they were possess'd of: But before the King left *Palestine* he propos'd that the Generals would elect some Chief who might command their Forces in his Absence; and the Choice falling on *Conrade*, Marquis of *Montferrat*, one of the Competitors for the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, he was stabb'd in the Streets of *Tyre*, where he commanded, by two *Mahometan* Assassins, said to be employ'd by a *Saracen* Prince, stil'd *The Old Man of the Mountains*, who had always several thousand Men in his Service devoted to any desperate Enterprize he should appoint them. Upon the Death of *Conrade*, *Richard* procur'd *Henry* Earl of *Champaign* to be elected, who was Nephew both to the King of *France* and the King of *England*: *Richard* also married him to *Isabella* the Widow of the deceas'd, whereby he obtain'd the Title of King of *Jerusalem*: As for *Guy* of *Lusignan*, *Richard* in lieu of *Jerusalem* conferr'd on him the Kingdom of *Cyprus*,
 Vol. XVI. G g g

1191. *Cyprus*, and it remain'd in his Family 200 Years and upwards.

Thus ended this formidable *Crusado*, with very little Advantage to the *Christians*, thro' the Emulation and Discontent of the *French King*, who chose rather to abandon the Enterprize than suffer the *King of England* to have the Glory of it ; and what was still worse, basely fell upon his Dominions at his return home, contrary to the solemn Oaths he had taken, and thereby also oblig'd *King Richard* to quit the Service, who upon his leaving the *Holy Land*, letting *Saladin* know that when the Truce was expir'd he should once again endeavour the Recovery of it, *Saladin* answer'd, he had such an Esteem for the *King of England*, that if it was his Fortune to lose his Country he should rather part with it to him than another.

King *Richard* having sent away his Fleet, on Board of which were the Queen, the embarks *King's Sister*, the Dowager of *Sicily*, and the for Eng- Princess of *Cyprus*, who were order'd to touch land. at *Sicily* and take in Refreshments : He went on Board a single Vessel himself, and arriving at *Corfu* sail'd up the Gulph of *Venice* and landed near *Ragusa*, intending to go by Land thro' *Germany* for the greater Expedition, apprehending that if he had pass'd thro' *France* he might have been stopp'd by *Philip*, who was become his declar'd Enemy ; and thus by endeavouring to avoid one Danger he fell into another, for coming to a Village near *Vienna* in *Austria* he was discover'd by his Expences, tho' he had a very small Retinue disguis'd in the Habit of Pilgrims. The Duke of *Austria* being inform'd of his Arrival, and glad of an Opportunity of gratifying

Is taken Prisoner in *Austria*.

ing his Revenge as well as of enriching himself by his Ransom, order'd the King to be seiz'd and imprison'd; but the Emperor, who was a sordid covetous Prince, also having a View to the Prize, partly by Threats and partly by Promises, prevail'd with the *Austrian* Duke to deliver King *Richard* into his Hands.

Advice of the King's Imprisonment coming to *England*, *Eleanor* the Queen-Mother, and the Regency did all that lay in their Power to prevent any ill Consequences that might attend this Misfortune. They were not ignorant of the ill Intentions of Prince *John*, or of the *French* King, the one upon his Throne and the other upon his transmarine Dominions, and therefore propos'd an Association to the Barons to defend the King's Dominions against all Enemies, Foreign and Domestick; which the Barons readily enter'd into; and notwithstanding Prince *John's* Practices to debauch the People from their Allegiance, by assuring them that the King would never obtain his Liberty, and at other times that he was dead, the Nation generally remain'd faithful to him; but the Prince met with better Success in *Normandy*, where many Places revolting to him, he did Homage to the *French* King for the Provinces held of that Crown, and enter'd into a League with him to obstruct by all imaginable Arts the Release of his Brother.

Prince *John* also endeavour'd to incite the King of *Scots* to invade the North of *England* to favour his Attempts upon the Throne, but that King would not hearken to him. At the same time the *French* King laying Siege to *Rouen*, the Capital of *Normandy*, the Earl of

1191.

King
Philip
and
Prince
John oppose his
being set
at Li-
berty.

1193. *Leicester* threw himself into the Town and bravely repuls'd that perjur'd Prince.

The Pope re-
fuses to
interpose
for King
Richard's
Liberty.

In the mean while Queen *Eleanor* wrote to the Pope to interpose with the Emperor for the King's Liberty, whose Misfortune was occasion'd by his attempting the Recovery of the *Holy Land* at the Instance of that See; but his Holiness being solicited by the *French* King on the other hand not to intermeddle in the Matter, the Pope would not concern himself.

The
Emper-
or's
Charge
against
King
Richard

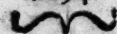
1194.

However, every one exclaiming against the Injustice of the Emperor in detaining the Person of so great a Monarch, who had been several Years hazarding his Person and every thing that was dear to him in the Cause of *Christendom*. The Emperor endeavour'd to justify himself in drawing up a formal Charge against King *Richard*, and bringing him to a mock Tryal before the Princes of the Empire, who could have very little Pretence to sit in Judgment on a Sovereign Prince. The Articles of this Charge were, 1. That the King had enter'd into an Alliance with *Tancred* to establish his Usurpation of the Kingdom of *Sicily*. 2. That by the Provocations he had given the *French* King he had obstructed the Conquest of *Palestine*. 3. That he had unjustly invaded the Island of *Cyprus*, and employ'd the Arms design'd for the Holy War against a *Christian* Prince. 4. That he had insulted and abus'd the Duke of *Austria* at the Siege of *Ptolemais*. 5. That he had contriv'd the Murder of the Marquis of *Montferrat*. 6. That he had held Correspondence with *Saladin*, and made an infamous Truce with that *Infidel* Prince, to the unspeakable Damage of *Christendom*.

The

The King declar'd that he did not look upon himself accountable to any Judicature upon Earth; however, to vindicate his Honour in the Face of the World, he was content to return some Answer to these Articles. And first he said, his Treaty with *Tancred* had no relation to the Emperor, that he did not create *Tancred* King of *Sicily*; but finding him so, treated with him as a Prince in Possession of the Throne. To the second he said, the *French* King's Jealousies, and his withdrawing his Troops, were the sole Occasion of their succeeding no better in *Palestine*. To the third, that he did not take *Cyprus* from its lawful Sovereign, but a Usurper who cruelly oppress'd the Inhabitants of that Island; nor was he mov'd to that Conquest by his Ambition or Avarice, as appear'd by his Resignation of it to *Guy* of *Lusignan* to make him some amends for the Loss of *Jerusalem*. To the fourth, that the Duke of *Austria* was already sufficiently reveng'd for the pretended Affront put upon him, and might have receiv'd Satisfaction in a more honourable manner. To the fifth, that the Marquis of *Montferrat* himself had clear'd him of having any Hand in his Death. And lastly, as to the Charge of his corresponding with *Saladin*, he thought the constant Tenor of his Actions sufficiently refuted that Calumny; and the Victory he had obtain'd over him was no great Argument of his Friendship, for that Prince concluding that the withdrawing of the *French* Troops by the Duke of *Burgundy* was the principal Cause they had not laid Siege to *Jerusalem*. The *German* Princes having heard the King, were in some Confusion for the Emperor's dishonourable Conduct in this Affair, and

1194.



King
Richard's
Ransom
agreed
on.

and became Petitioners for King *Richard's* Liberty. However, nothing could induce the fordid Emperor to enlarge this Prince without his paying a most extravagant Ransom, and this he was the more encourag'd to demand, because the *French* King and Prince *John* had offer'd him very large Sums to detain King *Richard* in Custody. At length, however, the Sum of 150,000 Marks was agreed on for the King's Ransom, 50,000 whereof the Duke of *Austria* was to have for his Share, whereupon Queen *Eleanor* and the Regency made all possible haste to raise the Money by Taxes, Loans and otherwise; but the Nation had been so fleec'd when the King enter'd upon the Expedition for the Recovery of the *Holy Land* that it was found very difficult to collect so large a Sum, notwithstanding the People, both Clergy and Laity, seem'd very ready to advance whatever they could for the Redemption of their Sovereign. Besides the Ransom, the Emperor insisted that the King of *Cyprus* and his Daughter should be set at Liberty, and that *Eleanor* Princess of *Bretagne*, the King's Niece, should be married to the Duke of *Austria*, in Return for which the Emperor pretended to confer the Kingdom of *Arles* or County of *Provence* in *France* on King *Richard*, which was not then in his Possession; however, King *Richard* proposing some time or other to make an Advantage of this Title, 'tis said, did Homage to the Emperor for it. The *French* King understanding that King *Richard* had agreed with the Emperor for his Liberty, sent an Express to Prince *John*, bidding him look to himself, for the Devil was like to get loose; suggesting at the same time, that considering the
Pro.

Provocations he had given his Brother, the only way to secure himself was immediately to usurp his Throne, to give Time for which, and to prevent his immediate Return, *Philip* offer'd the Emperor 50000 Marks, and Prince *John* 30000, to keep the King in Custody till they could bring their Projects to bear. This Offer had such an Effect upon the Emperor that he refus'd to release the King, notwithstanding his Agreement, till he had the Opinion of the Diet, which was not to sit till some considerable time afterwards. King *Richard* and his Friends being thus unreasonably delay'd, began to despair of his ever recovering his Liberty; However, the Diet being met at *Spires*, shew'd themselves very much inclin'd to do the King Justice, and let the Emperor know, that as they stood in a manner engag'd to see the late Treaty perform'd, they must insist upon his Enlargement; and us'd such pressing Instances, that the Emperor agreed once more to give him his Freedom, after fifteen Months close Imprisonment: Some say he had been thrown into a Dungeon and us'd with the utmost Barbarity, in order to extort the higher Ransom from him.

The Queen Dowager *Eleanor*, it seems, The went over herself to *Germany* with the first King Money agreed to be paid, being 100,000 recovers Marks, and having given Hostages for the re- his Li- maining 50,000, the King was deliver'd to her, berty. to the inexpressible Joy of that Princess; whereupon the King immediately took Horse and rode with all imaginable Speed to *Antwerp*, where he embark'd for *England*; and had he not us'd this extraordinary Diligence, he had infallibly been brought back; for the *French King* and Prince *John* having made still

1194.



1194.
King
Richard
arrives
in *Eng-*
land.

still more advantageous Offers on this Head, the Emperor had sent after King *Richard* within few Hours after he was gone, in order to have apprehended him again.

The King landed on the Coast of *Kent* in the Month of *March*, 1194, having been Absent about four Years, and was every where received with the most joyful Acclamations of the People: As he approach'd the City of *Canterbury*, *Hubert* the Archbishop, who had attended the King at the Siege of *Acon*, came out to meet him, whereupon the King dismounted and fell on his Face when he came near him, the Archbishop did the same, after which they embrac'd with the greatest Tenderness, and perhaps there is not a Joy on Earth equal to that of meeting our Friends in Peace and Freedom who have been Sharers in our Dangers or Distresses. And here our Historians in general observe, that both the Emperor and the Duke of *Austria*, who had so basely abus'd and imprison'd a *Christian* Prince that had been the Champion of their Cause, both came to miserable Ends. The Duke had his Legs broken by a Fall from his Horse, of which he died, and was so sensible of the Injustice he had been Guilty of before he left the World, that he order'd the Money that was in Arrear to him should not be demanded of King *Richard*, but the Hostages to be immediately releas'd. The Emperor also falling Sick in *Sicily*, and lying under the Sentence of Excommunication, sent his Chancellor to beg King *Richard*'s Pardon, and promis'd to restore the Money he had extorted from him; but the Emperor dy'd before the Chancellor arriv'd in *England*, and the Money was never repaid.

The

The first Transaction we meet with after King *Richard's* Return, was his repairing to the Abbey of *St. Edmund's Bury*, and offering up the Imperial Standard taken from *Isaac King of Cyprus*, in Pursuance of a Vow he had made.

He then proceeded to reduce such Castles and Fortresses as had declar'd for his Brother Prince *John*, who was himself fled into *France*, to avoid the King's Resentment, and being summon'd to appear before the Peers within forty Days, he was upon his Default sentenc'd by them to forfeit all his Lands he then held in *England*, and all he expected after the King's Decease. At the same time Sentence pass'd against the Bishop of *Coventry*, and several others of Prince *John's* Adherents.

The *French* King hoping to reap some Advantage from Prince *John's* Revolt, and rightly conjecturing that it would be very difficult for King *Richard* to levy Money for the Support of a War, considering how the Nation had been lately drain'd to pay his Ransom, ventur'd again to insult the Territories belonging to *England* on the other side the Water. King *Richard* hereupon found himself under a necessity of resuming the Grants he had made of the Crown Lands, on his undertaking the *Crusado*, alledging by way of Excuse, That the Persons these Lands had been granted to, had already receiv'd more than the Money advanc'd out of the Profits: He also caus'd a new Broad Seal to be made, the other having been lost in the Voyage, requiring all Persons who had Grants or Charters under the first, to have them seal'd by the New Seal. These were Methods of

The
French
King
invades
Nor-
mandy.

K. Ri-
chard's
Ways of
raising
Money.

1194. raising Money by no Means justifiable ; for which however, says *Matthew Paris*, he ought to be pardon'd rather than condemn'd, the Necessity of the Times pleading for him : Prince *John* was fled to the *French King*, and had done Homage to him for the *English Territories* on that side of the Water, and would infallibly have wrested them out of the King's Hands, if he had not exerted himself in an extraordinary Manner, and us'd uncommon Expedition. It was not to gratify a Spirit of Revenge, as *Rapin* maliciously insinuates, that King *Richard* took these Methods to raise Money, but to defend his Territories, and break the Confederacy between *Philip* and his Brother *John* ; for we find the *French King* besieging *Verneuil* within two Months after King *Richard's* Return to *England*, and he must have assembled his Army and invaded the *English Dominions* some time before this, very probably before King *Richard* was return'd to *England* ; and if it be consider'd, that the *French King* had actually invaded the *English Dominions* in King *Richard's* Absence, taken several of his Towns, contrary to the solemnest Oaths, done all that lay in his Power to divest him of *Normandy*, &c. by receiving his Brother *John's* Homage, and inciting him to revolt ; and lastly, that he had basely offer'd the Emperor Money to detain him in Prison ; had not King *Richard* all the Reason in the World to call him to an Account for these Injuries, and require Satisfaction of him, tho' *Philip* had not actually invaded *Normandy* at this Time ? Would any but a partial *French* Writer have insinuated that he was animated only by a Spirit of Revenge ? But to proceed. King *Richard*, before

before he embark'd for *France*, thought fit to be crown'd again at *Winchester*, *William* King of *Scots*, as Earl of *Huntington*, carrying one of the Swords before him at his Coronation, the Fidelity of that Prince during all *Richard's* Troubles, had render'd him exceeding dear to him; as a Mark of his Esteem for the King of *Scots* therefore, he order'd that whenever he should come into *England*, the Sheriff of every County he pass'd through should attend him; that an hundred Shillings *per Diem* should be allow'd him during his Journey, and thirty Shillings *per Diem*, while he remain'd at the Court of *England*, besides Bread, Wine, &c. for his Table.

1194.
King
Richard
Crown'd
a second
Time.

The Solemnity of the Coronation was scarce over, when the King receiv'd Advice as he sat at Dinner, that *Philip* was besieging *Vernevil*, which added to his former Baseness and Injustice, so provok'd *Richard*, that he swore, *He would never turn his Face till he reach'd the French Army*; accordingly he caus'd the Wall of the Room where he sat to be broken down, and assembling his Fleet, which consisted of an hundred Sail, transported so formidable an Army into *Normandy*, that the *French* King receiving Intelligence of their Landing, rais'd the Siege of *Vernevil* with the utmost Precipitation, leaving his Tents and Baggage behind him. And now Prince *John* observing how false and timorous an Ally he had to trust to, thought it high time to abandon him, and desiring Queen *Eleanor* his Mother to interpose in his Behalf, he threw himself at the King's Feet, and begg'd his Pardon. *Richard*, notwithstanding the Greatness of his Favour.

He raises
the Siege
of *Vernevil*.

Prince
John re-
stor'd to

1194.

Offences, so often repeated, and at a Time when he was in Distress, generously forgave him, telling the Prince, *He wish'd he might as easily forget his Offence, as he doubted the Prince would his Pardon.* But tho' there might be a great deal of Goodness in this, we may imagine that *Richard* was induc'd by other Motives also, so readily to take him into Favour; he could not but remember how fatal the Divisions in the Royal Family had been to his Father, and what Advantages the *French King* had drawn from them; that *France* was never terrible to *England* but when she had a disaffected Party of that Nation in her Interest, and therefore a Union amongst themselves, was of all Things most to be wish'd and endeavour'd.

Philip

flies be-

fore

King

Richard.

Philip

let the

King of

England

know,

that

he would

meet him

at the

Head of

his Army

the next

Morning;

but this

Message

was sent

purely to

amuse

King

Richard,

and prevent,

if possible,

his falling

upon him

The *French King* afterwards march'd into *Touraine*, whither King *Richard* follow'd him, and came up with his Army near the Town of *Vendosme*. Here, 'tis said, King *Richard*. *Philip* let the King of *England* know, that he would meet him at the Head of his Army the next Morning; but this Message was sent purely to amuse King *Richard*, and prevent, if possible, his falling upon him that Night; for the *French King* decamp'd immediately, with such Precipitation, that he left all his Baggage and Treasure, and even the Records of his Kingdom behind him; which *Mezerai*, an Historian of their own, very much laments, as a Misfortune never to be retriev'd.

1195.

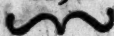
Soon after a Truce was agreed on between the two Nations, before the Expiration whereof, 'tis said, *Philip* propos'd the determining all Differences between them by five Champions of a Side, the Vanquish'd to accept of such Terms as the Conqueror should impose.

impose. King *Richard* consented, on Condition the two Kings might be of the Number, which the *French* King declin'd. But as the Proposal appears ridiculous; it was very probably a Fiction, for which of these Princes would have submitted to the other, while their Forces were intire.

As there was not any considerable Action in the Field this Year, our Historians entertain us with some Domestick Occurrences. They relate that about this Time the Roads were mightily infested by Troops of Robbers, and particularly, that in *Yorkshire* the famous *Robin Hood*, suppos'd to be of Noble Extraction, and his Companion *Little John*, with an hundred Bowmen or Archers render'd Travelling very insecure; however 'tis observable that they never hurt either Man or Woman in their Persons, where they could avoid it, and only robb'd the Wealthy. *Hubbart* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Chief Justiciary of *England* during the King's Absence, issu'd his Proclamations, and took all proper Measures to suppress these Banditti, or Gangs of Robbers, which had so good an Effect, that *Robin Hood* himself going to a Monastery to be let Blood upon some Occasion, was apprehended, and chose rather to bleed to Death than die ignominiously by the Hands of the Executioner. What became of his Friend *Little John*, who robb'd with him, I don't find; but from this *Robbers*, *Robin* or *Robert Hood*, it was, that Highway-men and House-breakers were first denominated *Robert's Men*, and afterwards *Robbers*. whence so call'd.

William Langbeard render'd himself no less An In-remarkable for his seditious Behaviour in the surrecti- City of *London*, than *Robert Hood* was in the Country. *London*.

1196.

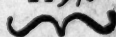


Country. This Man being endow'd with abundance of Native Eloquence, and having taken all Methods to render himself Popular, as by pleading the Cause of the Poor, and defending them from the Oppressions of their merciless Neighbours, occasion'd such an Insurrection in the City, on the levying of a Tax, which he pretended was unequally laid, that a great many of the King's Officers and others were kill'd; whereupon the Chief Justiciary sent some Troops to their Assistance, who having dispers'd the Mob, *Longbeard*, and some of the boldest of the Faction retir'd into *Bow Church*, and fortify'd themselves; but on setting Fire to the Church, they were forc'd out, and *Longbeard* and eight of his Accomplices being apprehended, were executed as Traytors at *Tyburn*, and afterwards hung in Chains.

The Truce being ended on the other side the Water, Hostilities were began again; however the two Kings had several Interviews, in order to a Treaty of Peace. The *French* had sufficient Reason to desire it, on Account of the frequent Defeats they met with; and *England* was too much exhausted to desire a Continuance of the War, There is such a thing as being undone by Victories, as this Generation has sufficiently experienc'd. At one of these Interviews between the two Kings, *Richard* deliver'd the Princess *Alice* to her Brother *Philip*, who married her soon after to the Earl of *Pontien*. On the other hand, *Richard* gave his Sister *Joan* Dowager of *Sicily*, in marriage to the Earl of *Tbolouse*, entering into an Alliance with him, as he did also with *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, to the great Mortification of *Philip*, who found himself

himself already too weak to make head
againſt his Enemies.

1197.



In this warlike Age, when Bishops frequently exchang'd their Robes for a Suit of Armour, it happen'd that the Bishop of *Beauvois* was taken Prisoner by King *Richard*, in an Engagement between the *French* and *English*; and as this Prelate was nearly related to the King of *France*, great Offers were made to the King of *England* to obtain his Liberty; and when all other Methods fail'd, the Pope was desir'd to interpose his Authority, who thereupon wrote to the King, in behalf of his *dear Brother and Son the Bishop*. In answer to which, the King sent the Bishop's Armour to the Pope, together with a Letter, desiring him to see if *that was his Son's Coat?* which occasion'd the Pope to write to the imprison'd Bishop in the following Manner, 'He told him, he observ'd that he had put
' on the Habit of a Soldier, and not of a
' Priest, in behalf of his Kinsman the *French*
' King, who had engag'd himself by his Oath,
' not to disturb the King of *England's* Do-
' minions during his Absence, and yet had
' shamefully taken his Towns and ravag'd
' his Territories, in breach of that Oath;
' that the Justice of the King of *England's*
' Cause therefore fought for him, and that the
' Bishop had not only been an imprudent Advi-
' ser, but an insolent Actor in this unjust War,
' and therefore his Holiness could use no
' other Means but Intercessions on his behalf.' And the Bishop, 'tis said, after having been long in Prison, and laid in Irons, was forc'd to give ten thousand Marks for his Ransom. The Reason of this severe Usage, according to *Nubrigensis*, was, that he had been the
Author

1198. Author of the Hardships King *Richard* suffer'd when he was imprison'd by the Emperor, who order'd him to be loaded with as many Irons as an Ass could bear; as King *Richard* himself took Notice, to those who petition'd him in the Bishop's behalf. But to proceed.

The Battle of Gisors.

We learn from *Hoveden*, and some other Writers, that the *French* receiv'd no less than three Defeats in the Year 1198, the most considerable whereof was near *Gisors*, where the *French* King was in great danger of his Life, by the breaking down of the Bridge over the River *Ept*, which was crouded with Soldiers, who fled before the victorious *English*. In this Battle, 'tis said, King *Richard* defeated three of the bravest Knights in the *French* Service, and took them Prisoners, and that upon this Occasion he order'd that Motto to be first inscrib'd on his Arms, *Dieu Et mon Droit*, God and my Right: Or, God and the Justice of my Cause fights for me. And here I must observe again the partiality of *Rapin*, that pretended Friend to the *English*, from whose Relation one would be tempted to think that the Successes of the *English* and *French* were equal in this War, tho' all agree that King *Richard* recover'd the Places that had been taken from him in his Absence; and the Pope himself, if the Letter above-mention'd be genuine, plainly demonstrates King *Richard's* Success, in that Clause where he says, *The Justice of his Cause fought for him*. However, by the Mediation of the Pope, a Truce for five Years was at length agreed upon the usual Terms, viz. That each Party should remain in Possession of what he had acquired during the War.

1199.

No

No sooner were Hostilities ceas'd, but *Philip*, a true *Frenchman*, endeavour'd to effect that by base and treacherous Arts which he despair'd of doing by open Force, for he was conscious if he could create a Misunderstanding between the two Brothers, he might by taking part with one of them ruin both. He suggested therefore at a Conference with *Richard*, that *John* still remain'd disaffected to his Person and Government, and offer'd so many specious Reasons to support what he said, that King *Richard* really believ'd him, and thereupon disseiz'd the Prince once more of all his Lands and Possessions; but *John* justifying himself, and sending a Challenge to the *French* Court, which *Philip* did not think fit to accept, he was immediately restor'd to Favour again.

Philip
creates
in King
Richard
a Suspi-
cion of
his Bro-
ther
John.

While King *Richard* remain'd on the other side of the Water, a *Limosin* Gentleman found a great Treasure of Gold in his Grounds, and made a Present of part of it to the King voluntarily. But *Richard* insisting that he was Sovereign of the Place where it was found, and that *Treasure Trove* was a Perquisite that of Right belong'd to him, and demanding the Whole, the Gentleman who found it endeavour'd to secure his Prize in the Castle of *Chalons* belonging to *Vidomar* Count of *Limoges*; whereupon the King invested the Castle, and while he was viewing the Walls in order to attack the Place, was wounded in the Neck by an Arrow shot by one *Bertrand* from the Castle Walls; and tho' the Wound did not at first appear dangerous, yet falling into the Hands of an unskilful Surgeon it gangreen'd, and the King died of it after he had lain in great Torture eleven Days. The

The
King
mortally
wound-
ed at the
Siege of
a little
Castle.

1199. Castle however being taken in the mean time, and *Bertrand* who wounded him brought before the King, he demanded what Injury he had ever done him that he endeavour'd to take away his Life. *Bertrand* boldly answer'd, that King *Richard* had kill'd both his Father and his Brother with his own Hand; (probably in some Engagement) and since he had been so fortunate to rid the World of such a Tyrant, he should undergo the greatest Torments that could be inflicted on him with Pleasure. The King, notwithstanding this insolent Answer, order'd the Man to be releas'd, and an hundred Shillings to be given him; but the King expiring loon after, the *Flemish* General (the Duke of *Brabant* according to some) who commanded his Troops, caus'd the miserable Wretch to be Flead alive.

He dies. The King died on the sixth of *April* in the forty-first Year of his Age, *A. D.* 1199, having reign'd nine Years and nine Months, whereof it is observ'd he was not the odd nine Months in *England*. By his last Will he appointed his Brother Prince *John* his Successor, probably because he look'd upon him to be more capable of defending the *English* Dominions against the *French* King than his Nephew *Arthur*, who was an Infant. It could not certainly be out of any great Affection for a Brother who had done all that lay in his Power that he might perish in Prison, and join'd with his most inveterate Enemy to dethrone him. The King order'd one fourth of his Treasure to be distributed among his Servants and the Poor, and the remainder he gave to his Brother. His Corpse he order'd to be dispos'd of in the following manner.

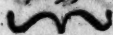
His

His Body to be buried at *Font Everard* at the Feet of his Father, to testify his Remorse for his undutiful Behaviour to him. His Heart he bequeath'd to the City of *Rouen*, the Capital of *Normandy*, to express his Affection for that City, which had given him evident Proofs of their Loyalty. And his Bowels he order'd to be interr'd in *Poitou*, to shew the small Esteem he had for that fickle People. By a former Will which he made at *Messina* he had appointed his Nephew *Arthur* Duke of *Bretagne* his Successor, as has been observ'd already: What Inducements had he to alter it, History does not inform us, unless it was the Minority of his Nephew, as has been hinted.

King *Richard* was tall and well made, and had a Majestick Mien. His Complexion was fair, his Features just, and his Hair yellow enclining to red. He appears to have been a Prince of admirable Courage and Conduct, and would probably have made an excellent Governor, if the Superstition of those times had not carried him with all the Flower of the Nobility to the *Holy Land*. By this unhappy Expedition the Nation was exhausted of its Treasure, and still more by the Ransom that was paid to obtain his Liberty. The *French* War also occasion'd burthensome Taxes, so that it must be admitted the Subjects of *England* were but in an ill situation during his Reign, and yet this must be acknowledg'd more his Misfortune than his Fault. He seems to have been the most ready to forgive his Enemies of any Prince we read of: He enter'd into an Alliance even with the Emperor that had us'd him with such Indignity and Cruelty. He pardon'd his Brother *John* and

His Person and Character.

1199.



and his Adherents after such Provocations as one would have thought could never have been forgiven, and at last rewarded the Man that had given him his mortal Wound, and gloried in it; and if he was not perfectly reconcil'd to *Philip* the *French* King, it was because he found him so false and treacherous that it was unsafe to have any Correspondence with him. And I don't find he ever put one of his Subjects to Death in cold Blood, notwithstanding the Conspiracies form'd against him, and he had the Rebels in his Power. As to the Vices he is charg'd with, there seems to be little other Proof of them than common Fame: It is said indeed he had one illegitimate Son; but other Historians affirm positively that he had no Issue of any kind.

There is a merry Story of a *French* Priest, 'tis true, who observ'd that King *Richard* had three Daughters, namely, Pride, Covetousness and Lust; which when the King heard of, he scarce thought the Calumny deserv'd a serious Answer, but said, if it was so, he should bestow his Daughter *Pride* upon the Knights Templars and Hospitallers, Covetousness on the Monks, and Lust on the Secular Clergy, intimating that they would thus be very suitably match'd.

His Marriage.

This Prince was contracted in his Infancy to the Daughter *Raymond* Earl of *Barcelona*, and afterwards to *Alice* the Daughter of *Lewis* the *French* King; but his Marriage was never solemniz'd with either of them; and at length he married the Princess *Beringaria*, the Daughter of *Sanctius* or *Sancho*, King of *Navarre*, which Marriage was solemniz'd at *Cyprus* in his Voyage to the *Holy Land*. She came back with the Fleet from *Palestine*, and was probably landed

landed in *Normandy*; but it does not appear she ever was in *England*, or at what time she died. However he had no Issue by her.

1199.

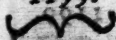
No Issue.

The Taxes in this Reign were as follows. In the first Year a Scutage of 10 s. for every Knight's Fee. In the second Year, towards his Expedition to the *Holy Land*, two Saddle Horses and two Sumpter Horses were taken of every City, of every Abbey one Saddle Horse and one Sumpter Horse, and of every of the King's Manors as of the Abbies. For his Ransom, when Prisoner to the Emperor, of every Knight's Fee 20 s. a fourth part of the Rents of the Laity, a fourth part of the Rents of some Clerks, and a tenth of others. All the Gold and Silver the Churches had, and all the Wool of that Year of the *Cistercian* Monks of the Order of *Semplingbam*. Of every Plough Land 2 s. of the Husbandmen or Occupiers. Of every Knight's Fee a third part of the Service for his Expedition into *Normandy*. Of the *Cistercians* the King demanded their Wool, for which they compounded. For the Liberty of Tournaments every Earl gave twenty Marks, every Baron ten Marks, every landed Knight four Marks, and every Knight of Fortune two Marks. In the Years 1195 and 1196 were rais'd 1,100,000 Marks, but not said how, also an Aid of 5 s. of every Plough Land; great Sums also rais'd by Seizures, Fines and Compositions, and Sale of the Demefne Lands.

Taxes,

There needs little to be said of this Prince's His Title, as he was the eldest surviving Son of the his Father *Henry II.* to whose Right never any Objection was made.

The



CHAP. XVII.

The History of the Reign of King JOHN.

King
John's
Accession.

The
English
take an
Oath of
Allegiance to
him.

PRince *John* at the Death of his Brother King *Richard* was with him on the other side the Water, as were also *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *William Marshal*, a popular *English* Nobleman. These *John* immediately dispatch'd into *England*, who with *Eleanor* the Queen-Mother and the Chief Justiciary, manag'd his Interest so effectually that he was generally acknowledg'd King, and an Oath of Allegiance taken to him. Some of the Barons indeed made a Difficulty of it at first, and begun to fortify their Castles, as expecting a Civil War; but upon the Archbishop's engaging with the rest of his Friends that *John* would confirm their antient Rights and Privileges, all of them came in and recogniz'd his Title, for which they had several very considerable Inducements. *John* was, or at least it was generally believ'd he was appointed by the late King to succeed him. He had been bred amongst them, and was personally known to most of them, and of a mature Age, being now about three and thirty, whereas *Arthur* Duke of *Bretagne*, tho' he was the Son of his elder Brother, was yet scarce thirteen Years of Age, a Foreigner whom the *English* had scarce ever seen: Nor does it appear that *Arthur* or his Friends as yet made any Claim to the Crown of *England*, acquiescing probably in the Will of the late King as to the Disposal of this Kingdom; but it was otherwise as to the

Ter.





In the year 1704, the Government of the Kingdom of France, by the late King's Testament, had not been upon the spot, and the late King's Testament, which he raised an Army, and provided the Revolt of the Normans. He also bequeathed the Crown of France, and having taken it, he left the West and made the King's Testament, in order to show his Testament, and then bequeathed for his Testament, and to show the late King's Testament, which he bequeathed to the late King's Testament, where the late King's Testament, with the Duke of Burgundy, Crown upon his Testament, Oath to preserve the Testament, and to show the Testament, Having settled the Affairs of that Testament, came over into England, landing in 1704, the twenty-fifth of May, and was Crowned, the following day, by the late King's Testament, Bishop of Canterbury, who before the Testament, according to Matthew Testament, could silence to be provided, Testament, no Person had a right to Testament, down who was not Testament, Testament, for his Testament, Testament. That the late King's Testament, without Illus, and Fall Testament, others of the Royal Family, in Testament, they therefore Testament.

Territories in *France*, it being alledg'd that the Sovereign cannot dispose of the Succession there by Will in Prejudice of the right Heir. Accordingly we find the Provinces of *Poitou*, *Touraine*, *Main* and *Anjou*, declaring for Duke *Arthur* on the Death of King *Richard*, and possibly *Normandy* had done the same if *John* had not been upon the Spot, and procur'd *Robert de Turnham*, the late King's Treasurer, to deliver him the Money in his Hands, with which he rais'd an Army, and prevented the Revolt of the *Normans*. He also besieg'd the City of *Mans*, and having taken it, demolish'd the Walls and made the Citizens Prisoners, in order to shew his Resentment at their declaring for his Nephew *Arthur*, and to strike a Terror into other Places. After which he came to *Rouen* on the 25th of *April*, where the Archbishop of that City girt him with the Dutchy Sword, and set the Ducal Crown upon his Head, and he took the usual Oath to preserve the Churches Privileges, and administer Justice to the People of *Normandy*. Having settled the Affairs of that Dutchy he came over into *England*, landing in *Sussex* on the twenty-fifth of *May*, and was Crown'd the Day following at *Westminster* by *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who before the Solemnity, according to *Matthew Paris*, having caus'd Silence to be proclaim'd, declar'd that no Person had a Right to succeed to this Kingdom who was not unanimously elected by the Community for his excellent Parts and Endowments. That the late King being dead without Issue, and Earl *John* excelling all others of the Royal Family in Wisdom and Courage, they therefore unanimously elected him

1199.

Some of
the
French
Pro-
vinces
declare
for *Ar-
thur*.

King
John
takes
Mans.

And is
in vested
in the
Dutchy
of *Nor-
mandy*.

He is
Crown'd
in *Eng-
land*.

His pre-
tended
Election
consi-
der'd.

1199. him King, &c. The Speech as we find it in Matthew Paris is in the following Words.

Noverit discretio vestra, quod nullus prævia ratione alij succedere habet Regnum nisi ab universitate Regni unanimiter, invocata Spiritus gratia electus, & secundum morum suorum eminentiam præelectus, ad exemplum & similitudinem Saul primi Regis inuncti quem præposuit Dominus populo suo, non Regis filium nec Regali stirpe procreatum. Similiter post eum David Jesse filium: Hunc quia strenuum & aptum dignitati Regiæ; illum quia sanctum & humilem. Ut sic qui cunctos in regno supereminet strenuitate omnibus præsit & potestate & regimine. Verum si quis exsterpe Regis defuncti alijs præpolleret pronius & promptius in Electionem ejus est consentiendum. Hæc idcirco dicimus pro inclito Comite Johanne qui presens est frater illustrissimi Regis nostri Richardi jam defuncti qui hærede caruit ab eo egrediente qui providus & strenuus & manifeste nobilis quem nos invocata Spiritus Sancti gratia ratione tam meritorum quam Sanguinis Regij unanimiter elegimus universi.

One would be tempted to think that this Speech could never be genuine. For how absurd was it for the Archbishop to give this Prince the Title of Comes, or Earl, and declare that they then elected him for their King, when he had been recogniz'd King by all the Nobility some time before, and they had taken the Oaths to him as their Sovereign? Besides it does not appear that the Matter was ever put to the Vote, or by whom, and in what manner, either this or any other King of England was ever elected; which to any considering Man amounts to a Demonstration, that there never was an Election of this kind; especially if it be consider'd, that every

every King of *England* claim'd the Crown, 1199. 
 either by Descent, or the Appointment of
 the preceding King, and not by the Election
 of the People; the last of which would surely
 at one time or other have been insisted on, if
 it had ever been apprehended that this could
 either have made or corroborated their Titles.
 And indeed it is a known Maxim in our Laws,
 that *The King of England never dies*; the Suc-
 cessor is King the Moment his Predecessor
 resigns his Breath, and there being no Inter-
 regnum, it is not possible there shou'd be any
 time for making an Election. In *Poland*,
 where the Crown is really Elective, there is
 always an Interregnum on the Death of the
 King, and the Law places the Administration
 of the Government in the Hands of the Pri-
 mate, the Archbishop of *Guesna*, till ano-
 ther King is elected. The Nobility and
 Gentry are summon'd to meet on Horseback,
 in order to an Election; they are rang'd in
 order under their respective Palatines, and
 the first Senator of every Palatinate takes
 their Votes, which are written in a Roll, and
 transmitted to the Marshal of the Nobility.
 These are Facts that all the World are ac-
 quainted with, and had there ever been a
 formal Election of a King of *England*, we
 should by some means or other have had the
 Circumstances of such an Election transmit-
 ted down to Posterity, as well as those of
Poland. To say, with *Matthew Paris*, that
 when the Archbishop declar'd they elected
John for their King the Mob cried out *Vi-
 vat Rex*, if this is to be deem'd an Electi-
 on, the King may be said to be elected every
 time he goes abroad, and is huzza'd by the
 Crowd; and yet this is all the Evidence that

1199. *Paris* gives us of the Assent of the States on this important Occasion; and indeed *Matthew Paris* himself plainly shews that this Business of the Election was all Pretence and Grimace, for he says the Peers were surpriz'd at the Archbishop's Conduct on this Occasion, and demanded what he meant by founding the King's Title on the Election of the People? To which the Archbishop answer'd, *That he was fully assur'd by certain remarkable Presages, that King John would bring the Kingdom and Crown into great Confusion; therefore to put some Restraint upon his Temper, he had affirm'd, That he ought to come in by Election, and not by Hereditary Succession.* So that if this was not all an Invention of *Paris's*, it was however a Stratagem of the Archbishop's to keep the King in Awe; and he must be an exceeding weak Prince indeed, to believe the Archbishop against his own Senses. If there had been an Election, both the King and the Peers must have been Witnesses of it, and might well seem surpriz'd at the Bishop's affirming on so solemn an Occasion what they all knew to be false. The Gift of Prophecy also, which the Archbishop is here made to pretend to, renders the whole Relation still more suspicious. But to return.

The King being Crown'd, the usual Oath was administred to him, which was in Effect, That he should support and defend the Church; repeal bad Laws, and establish good Ones, and see Justice duely administred. To which, 'tis said, the Archbishop added, *That he should not presume to take that Dignity upon him, unless he resolv'd to fulfil what he had sworn.* To which the King answer'd, *He would, by God's Assistance, observe his Oath.*

The

1199.

The King having receiv'd the Homages of the Nobility, and paid his Devotions at the Shrine of *St. Alban*, in pursuance of a Vow he had made, took an Opportunity of Rewarding those who had been most Instrumental in establishing him on the Throne, particularly *Geoffry Fitz-Peter* the Justiciary, whom he made Earl of *Essex*, *William Marshal* he created Earl of *Pembroke*, and *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was constituted Lord Chancellor, which some have look'd upon rather as a Degradation than Advancement; but perhaps this Prelate had more regard to the Profit than the Honour of that Post.

The King of *Scotland* making some Pretences to the Northern Counties at this time, King *John* prevail'd with that Prince to wave that Dispute till he should return from *France*, where his Affairs requir'd his immediate Presence; for *Constance* the Dutchesse The Dowager of *Bretagne*, had put her Son Duke Dutches of *Bretagne* *Arthur* into the Hands of the *French* King, recommending him to his Protection, and yielded up to that Monarch the strong Towns she was possess'd of, as well in *Bretagne*, as in the Provinces of *Touraine*, *Main*, *Anjou*, and *Poitou*, in order to secure them for her Son *Arthur*, against his Uncle *John*. The *French* King had also surpriz'd the City of *Evreux* in *Normandy*, and was about to make greater Conquests; but King *John* arriving from *England* and assembling his Army, *Philip* desir'd a Truce of fifty Days, which King *John* consenting to, our Historians generally charge him with abundance of Weakness, his Forces being so much superior to *Philip*'s, that he might have made what Terms

1199. he pleas'd with him. The Truce expiring
 King *John's* Hostilities were renew'd, and notwithstanding
 Success in *France* the *French* King had reinforc'd his Army in
 the mean time, King *John* still drove him be-
 fore him, recover'd the Province of *Maine*,
 and oblig'd *Philip* to retire into his own Ter-
 ritories, and as *John* had made an Alliance
 with the Emperor *Otho*, his Nephew, and
 the Earl of *Flanders*, his Affairs appear'd in
 a very prosperous Situation, especially since
William de la Roche, the Duke of *Bretagne's*
 General, had persuaded his Mother to leave
 the *French* Court with her Son, and reconcile
 themselves to King *John*, plainly perceiving
 that *Philip* had no more Friendship for the
 Nephew than the Uncle, but would proba-
 bly take the first Opportunity of ruining
 both. However King *Philip* found means to
 insinuate to the Dutcheß of *Bretagne*, that
 King *John* had a Design upon her Son's Life,
 and prevail'd with her to return with *Arthur*
 once more to the *French* Court. Still King *John*
 appear'd to be superior to the *French* in the
 Field, and *Philip* plainly saw he should never
 be able to carry his Point by open Force,
 whereupon he propos'd the setting a Treaty
 on Foot with the King of *England*, by the
 Mediation of the Cardinal of *Capua*, and
 Articles were agreed on, wherein *Philip* stipu-
 lated on his part, to give the Duke of *Bre-
 tagne* no further Assistance; to yield up *Poi-
 itou*, *Main*, *Tourain*, and *Anjou*, together
 with *Berry*, *Auvergne*, *Evreux*, and all Places
 that had been taken from the *English* since
 the Death of King *Richard*. And *John* agreed
 on the other hand not to assist his Nephew,
 the Emperor *Otho*, who was in the Confederacy
 with him against *France*; that his Niece
Blanche,

A Peace
 between
 the two
 Crowns.
 1200.

Blanche, Princess of *Castile*, should marry Prince *Lewis* the Son of *Philip*, with whom King *John* was to give twenty thousand Marks of Silver, together with the Provinces of *Berry* and *Auvergne*; this Marriage was accordingly solemniz'd at *Rouen*; and *John* took Possession of *Anjou*, *Main*, *Tourain*, and *Poitou*, leaving his Nephew *Arthur* nothing but *Bretagne*, for which also he was oblig'd to do Homage to his Uncle. Thus *Philip* sacrific'd the Duke of *Bretagne*, notwithstanding the Protection he had promis'd him, and *John* deserted the Emperor *Otho*, who did not spare to upbraid him with his Breach of Faith, and sent to demand the Legacy King *Richard* left him in his Will, but could obtain no Satisfaction, either in the one Case or the other.

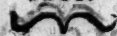
And now the War being at an end, we find King *John* making Conquests among the Ladies; he had divorc'd his Wife *Avis*, Heiress of the House of *Gloucester*, on pretence they were too nearly related, and became an Admirer of *Isabella*, the Daughter of *Amyer* Earl of *Angoulesme*, a celebrated French Beauty, already contracted to *Hugh* Earl of *Marche*; but this Match with *John* offering before the Marriage was solemniz'd with the Earl of *Marche*, her Father, fond of seeing his Daughter a Queen, gave her in Marriage to King *John*; which made the Earl of *Marche* the King's most implacable Enemy, nor did any Nobleman do more towards ruining the King's Affairs in France afterwards than this Earl.

The King returning to *England* with the Queen his Bride, demanded an Aid of three Shillings of every Hide of Land towards the

1200.

King John marries Isabella of Angoulesme.

1200.



The
King
Crown'd
a second
time,
with
Queen
Isabella.

the Payment of his Niece's Portion, which was complied with for the most part, tho' it was thought a little strange that the *English* should be oblig'd to pay the Dowry of a *Spanish* Princess, and *Geoffry* Archbishop of *York*, the King's base Brother, oppos'd the levying this Tax in his Province, whereupon the King seiz'd his Temporalities; the Bishop, on the other hand, excommunicated the Sheriff and Officers who assisted him: But the King being crown'd again at *Westminster* about this Time, with his fair Queen *Isabella*, the Nobility assembled on this Occasion, mediating between the King and the Archbishop, the Difference was made up, and the Tax generally paid.

The King of *Scotland* still making pressing Instances to have the Counties of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland* yielded to him, the two Kings had a Conference on this Subject at *Lincoln*; but I don't find they came to any Conclusion in the Affair: What was most remarkable at this Interview, was, the King of *Scotland*'s doing Homage to King *John* on a Hill near that City call'd *Borebill*, and the two Kings assisting in carrying the Corps of the Bishop of *Lincoln* to the Grave, which was brought thither to be interr'd at this time. Here twelve Abbots of the *Cistercian* Order also came and prostrated themselves before the King, begging his Pardon for their refusing to pay the late Tax; and the King 'tis said, was so mov'd by the venerable Appearance of the Supplicants, that he not only forgave them, but kneeling down, desir'd their Blessing, and promis'd to found an Abbey of their Order; which he afterwards did at *Bowley* or *Beaulieu* in *Hampshire*.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding the Marks of Esteem the King had express'd lately towards the Clergy in the two Instances above-mention'd, they had, it seems, entertain'd such Prejudices against him on his seizing the Temporalities of the Archbishop of *York* for refusing the late Tax, and levying it by Force on the *Cistercians*, that by the Encouragement of the Pope, they determin'd to make him sensible their Order was not to be commanded or insulted by the Civil Powers. Accordingly when the King some little time afterwards nominated a Bishop to the See of *Lincoln*, the Canons of that Church refus'd to have any regard to his Nomination. The next Affront he met with was from *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who summon'd a Synod of the Clergy without the King's Leave, and held it in Defiance of the King's Justiciary, who prohibited their Meeting. This Prelate, 'tis said, affected to equal the King in the Grandeur of his Court and Splendour of his Equipage, and when the King kept the Feast of *Christmas* at *Guildford*, the Archbishop did the same at *Canterbury*, with no less Magnificence; whereupon the King, in order to give him enough of this expensive Vanity, determin'd to be Crown'd a third time at *Canterbury*, which put the Archbishop to a very great Expence.

Nor was he in better Terms with the Temporal than the Spiritual Peers; he had not, 'tis suppos'd, answer'd their Expectations in point of their Privileges; and perhaps they apprehended their Privileges to be as unbounded as those of another Body of Men of later Date, there might be no possibility of satisfying their Demands; for tho' some Historians

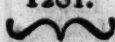
1200.
Misunderstandings between the King and the Clergy.

1201.
A Synod summoned against the King's Prohibition.

The King Crown'd a third time.

The Barons appear'd affected.

1201.

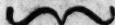


rians insinuate that their Rights were invaded, they do not give us many Instances of it: The refusing to submit to their Encroachments might be deem'd as great a Piece of Tyranny, as the refusing to confirm their antient Rights, as was evidently the Case between the King and the Clergy. His being familiar with a Nobleman's Wife or Daughter, would never have been made a Ground of their Disaffection, if they could have charg'd him with more notorious Instances of Oppression. Certain it is the Barons held frequent Cabals among themselves, and determin'd to compel the King to yield to their Demands, whether just or unjust does not appear. Their Discontents were first manifested on the King's summoning the Barons, and other immediate Tenants of the Crown, to attend him at *Portsmouth*, in order to embark for his transmarine Dominions, and reduce the Province of *Poitou* to his Obedience, which had revolted. The Barons instead of obeying the King's Summons to meet him at *Portsmouth*, assembled at *Leicester*, from whence they sent a Message to the King, ' That they would not attend him in this Voyage, unless he would restore them their antient Rights and Privileges. ' But I don't find they specified them, or reduc'd this Demand to any Certainty; whereupon the King looking upon it only as a Pretence for their Disobedience, immediately march'd against them with what Troops he had about him, and having taken *Beauvoir-Castle*, which they had fortified, the Barons were so terrified by this brisk and sudden Attack, which they were not prepar'd to oppose, that they all submitted, and came to the Rendezvous

at

at *Portsmouth*. However, the King not thinking it proper to leave the Kingdom at this time, dismiss'd the Barons and sent them home, on their paying him two Marks of Silver for every Knight's Fee, to be excus'd; detach'g only some Reinforcements for his Armies in *Normandy* and *Poitou*, under the Command of *William* Earl of *Pembroke* and *Roger de Lacy*.

The King having taken such Precautions, as he thought necessary for the Security of his *English* Territories, soon follow'd his Generals into *France*, together with his fair Queen *Isabella*, the *Helen* of the Age. He was no sooner arriv'd at *Rouen*, but the *French* King desir'd a Conference with him, at which he profess'd a more than ordinary Friendship for the King of *England*, whereupon they confirm'd their former Alliance, of which a certain Number of Peers on each side became Guarrantees, according to the Custom of those Times; whereas at present most of our Treaties are Guarranteed by Foreign Powers; but neither these nor any other Expedients, have ever been found sufficient yet to render any Treaty between Sovereign Princes inviolable, when they are dispos'd to break through it, and tho' King *John* might be very sincere on his part, it appears highly probable by what follow'd, that at this very Instant *Philip* was contriving the King of *England's* Ruin; however, as a Testimony of the good Understanding between them, both Monarchs agreed to give a fortieth Part of their Revenues towards the Charges of the *Holy War*, exhorting their Subjects to do the same; and *Philip*, in order to lull King *John* into the greater Security, invited treache-
 An Alliance between the Kings of France and England
 Philip
 him rously

1201.

 carresses
 King
 John.

1202.

Hostili-
 ties re-
 new'd
 between
 France
 and
 England

him to *Paris*, lodg'd him in his own Palace, and entertain'd him with the highest Marks of Friendship and Esteem; and when they parted, they took their Leaves with that Tenderness and Appearance of mutual Affection, that all the World, who were not in the Secret, flatter'd themselves with a lasting Peace between the two Crowns. And now King *John*, not being disturb'd by any Apprehension of Foreign or Domestick Wars, kept his *Christmas* at *Argenton* with Queen *Isabella*, the *English* Court appearing in the utmost Splendor, and promising themselves lasting Pleasure and Tranquility, as the Fruits of the late Alliance. But the *French* King had no sooner work'd up the Earl of *March's* Resentment against King *John* for depriving him of his Mistress, the beautiful *Isabella*, and incited *Arthur* the young Duke of *Bretagne*, to endeavour the Recovery of all the Provinces the *English* held in *France*, but he threw off the Mask, and at an Interview with King *John*, demanded he would resign *Normandy*, and the rest of the *English* Provinces on the Continent to his Nephew *Arthur*; and upon *John's* treating the Proposal with Contempt, he cited him before the Peers of *France* at *Paris*, where, on default of his Appearance, 'tis said, they took upon them to adjudge that King *John* had forfeited the Territories he held of that Crown. And the *French* King immediately invaded *Normandy*, making himself Master of several Towns before *John* could assemble his Troops to oppose him. Nor are the *French* Court much alter'd in their Conduct at this Day, most of the Advantages they obtain'd over the Con-
 federates

federates in the late Wars, being obtain'd either by Surprize or Treachery. 1202.

While the *French* King attack'd *Normandy*, The he dispatch'd Prince *Arthur* and the Earl of Duke of *March* with a Body of Troops into *Poitou* Bre- to make a Diversion on that side, and en- tagne courage the Insurrection of the Natives, who and the were now most of them in Arms against King Earl of *John*, and had made themselves Masters of *March* in Con- several strong Places in that Province. Prince federacy *Arthur* and the Earl of *March* arriving in with the *Poitou*, receiv'd Intelligence that *Eleanor* the *French*. Queen-Mother was at *Mirabel*, and looking upon her, as one of the most zealous Asser- tors of her Son *John*'s Cause, they immedi- ately invested the Place, and became Masters of the Town; but the old Queen retiring into the Castle, gave her Son time to come to her Assistance; whereupon a Battle was fought between the King of *England* on one side, and Duke *Arthur* and the Earl of *March* on the other, near the Walls of *Mirabel*, where King the *English* obtain'd a compleat Victory, and *John* de- both *Arthur* and the Earl were taken Priso- feats the- ners, together with the Princess *Eleanor*, *Ar-* Duke of *thur*'s Sister, stil'd *The Beauty of Bretagne*, ne and who was sent over into *England*, and remain'd Earl of Prisoner in *Bristol-Castle* till she died, being *March*, about forty Years. The *French* King re- and ceiving Advice of the Defeat of his Conse- makes derates, as he lay before *Arches*, rais'd the them Siege of that Place with Precipitation, and Prisoners retir'd into his own Territories.

In the mean Time, King *John* having Prince *Arthur* in his Power, endeavour'd by all the Arguments he could use, to draw him off from the Interest of *Philip*; but *Arthur*, 'tis said, answer'd all his kind Offers in a

1102.



Prince
Arthur
suppos'd
to be
mur-
der'd by
King
John.

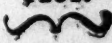
King
John
Crown'd
a fourth
time.

scornful manner, insisting that the Crown of *England*, as well as the Provinces in *France*, of Right belong'd to him, and gave his Uncle to understand that he should never enjoy them peaceably while he liv'd; at which King *John* was so exasperated, that he order'd him to be confin'd close Prisoner in a strong Tower on the Walls of *Rouen*, after which he was never heard of, most People supposing he was put to Death, and some pretended to say by the King's own Hands, who coming to the Tower in a Boat in the Night-time, dispatch'd him with his Sword, and order'd his Body to be thrown into the River *Seyne*; tho' it was given out by those who had the Custody of this Prince that he fell into the *Seyne* and was drowned as he attempted to make his Escape; which, if true, one would think the King should have taken care to have seen well prov'd, to discharge himself of the Odium of being the Murderer; whereas his making no Enquiry into it, made it generally suppos'd he was the Author of this Prince's Death.

Whether King *John* thought his Title more unexceptionable now the Duke of *Bretagne* was dead, or for what other Reason is uncertain: But he went over to *England* soon after this tragical Event, and was Crown'd a fourth time at *Canterbury*; and returning immediately afterwards into *Normandy*, he found the Report of his having put his Nephew *Arthur* to Death spread universally: Upon which, according to some Authors, *Constance* the Dutche's Dowager of *Bretagne*, and Mother of *Arthur*, apply'd herself to the French King, who was their common Sovereign, for Justice. Others relate that *Constance* was dead at

at this time, and that *Thomas* her Husband, and Guardian to *Alice* their Daughter, afterwards Dutcheſs of *Bretagne*, with the Nobility of that Province made the Complaint. But however that be, it is agreed on all Hands that *Philip* the *French* King encourag'd the Proſecution, and was glad of a Pretence for diſpoſſeſſing King *John* of the Provinces he held in *France*. Accordingly *Philip* conven'd the Court of Peers, and caus'd him to be ſummon'd before them to answer the Charge of Murder that was exhibited againſt him.

King *John* hereupon ſent his Deputies to the *French* Court, offering to appear and defend his Innocence if he might have a ſafe Conduſt for his Return, which the *French* King reſuſing, the Ambaſſadors repreſented that their Maſter could not appear in that Court without Hazard to his Perſon, the two Crowns being at War ; and that as he was King of *England* as well as Duke of *Normandy*, the *Engliſh* Barons would never ſuffer he ſhould appear as a Delinquent before that or any other Tribunal on Earth. Whereupon the Court of Peers proceeded to paſs the following Sentence, viz. That *John* Duke of *Normandy* being unmindful of his Oath to *Philip* his Lord, had murder'd his elder Brother's Son, an Homager to the Crown of *France*, within the Seignory of that Kingdom ; whereupon he is adjudg'd a Traytor, and as an Enemy to the Crown of *France* to forfeit all his Dominions which he held by Homage, and that Re-entry he made by Force of Arms. Which Judgment ſeems exceeding ridiculous, ſince the ſame Peers had but a very little before decreed King *John*'s Dominions in *France* to be forfeited, and the *French* King had receiv'd Homage of the

1202.


The
Peers of
France
adjudge
King
John to
have forfeited his
Territories in
France,

Duke

1202.



Duke of *Bretagne* for all the *English* Territories in *France*; so that King *John* was not at that time a Homager of *France* or Dependant on that Crown, if any Stress was to be laid on their former Sentence, and consequently was not subject to their Jurisdiction. But the true Reason of arraigning him in this solemn manner was, to render him odious both to *French* and *English*, who would infer, that if King *John* had dealt thus arbitrarily and cruelly with so near a Relation, his Subjects must not expect better Treatment at his Hands.

1203.

And very probably it had the design'd Effect, for we find most of the Towns in *Normandy* revolted to *Philip*, and the rest made either a slight Defence or none at all. Nor was it in King *John's* Power to remedy this while his *French* Dominions were thus prejudic'd against him, and the *English* Barons daily deserted his Service, as we find he complain'd they did, not long after. I can never believe that this Prince who appear'd so very active but just before, had gain'd a Victory at *Mirabel*, and compell'd the *French* King to fly before him, should all on the sudden so degenerate as to sit unconcern'd and see his *French* Territories ravish'd from him, if he could have rais'd Forces to have prevented it, notwithstanding *Matthew Paris* and some others give into this Opinion; it is much more probable that he became detested by all Mankind on perpetrating that infamous Murder, and was thereupon abandon'd by his Subjects. But to proceed, King *John* remain'd at *Rouen*, and by his Presence kept that City and some other Places from revolting for a time; but finding himself deserted by the *English* Barons as well as the *Norman*, he thought it proper

King
John
loses
great

proper to embark for *England*, and landed at *Portsmouth* on the 6th of *December*; whereupon a great many other Towns surrender'd to *Philip*. King *John* ascribing his Losses in *France* to the *English* Barons leaving him, demanded of those who had abandon'd him a seventh part of their Moveables, and levy'd the Money with some Rigour. However, in an Assembly of the Peers held at *Oxford* the following Year, they consented to raise two Marks and an half on every Knight's Fee, and the Clergy a proportionable Sum. The principal Inducement to which I take to be the Interest the great Men had in the King's transmarine Dominions, many of them having good Estates on that side, which they hop'd to preserve by granting the King this Supply.

Still our Historians observe, that King *John* neglected to raise Forces for the Recovery of the Towns he daily lost, and squander'd away the Money design'd for that Purpose in Shews and other idle Amusements. However, he sent Ambassadors to *France* to endeavour to accommodate Matters with King *Philip* by way of Treaty; but the *French* King was so flush'd with his Successes that he would hearken to no Terms, unless the Princess *Eleanor*, the Sister and Heiress of the deceas'd *Arthur*, was given in Marriage to his second Son, and all the *English* Dominions in *France* yielded to them, whereupon the Negotiation was broken off; for had King *John* agreed to this, he might have expected that the next Demand *Philip* made would have been of his *English* Territories, the Princess *Eleanor* being look'd upon by some to be the Heiress of these as well as of those

1204.
Philip's
Cham-
pion.

those in *France*. Some time after this Treaty, 'tis related, that the *French King* sent a Champion into *England* to justify his depriving King *John* of his Territories on the other side the Water; but that this *French Bully* sneak'd away upon the Earl of *Ulster's* offering to engage him. The Story has very much the Air of Fiction, and seems calculated rather for the Entertainment of School-Boys than Men: I forbear transcribing the whole Account therefore, and refer the Reader to our common Histories, where he will not fail to meet with it at large.

Rouen
taken by
the
French.

But however King *Philip's* Champion might play the Scoundrel and desert his Cause, his Master still continu'd to dispossess King *John* of his Towns in *Normandy*, and having laid Siege to *Rouen* the Capital, it surrender'd upon Articles, after having made a good Defence. By the Articles *Philip* had engag'd to preserve their Rights and Privileges, and govern them by their antient Laws; but he was no sooner Master of the Place than he demolish'd their Walls and Fortifications, and brought them under the same despotick Government he exercis'd in other parts of his Dominions.

All Nor-
mandy
lost.

Still the Castle of *Andeli*, situated on a Rock, held out a Siege of almost a Year, when the brave Governor *Roger Lacy* finding he had no more Provision left, sallied out with his Garrison, endeavouring to break thro' the *French Army*; but after a sharp Engagement, he was at length overpower'd and taken Prisoner. The *French*, in regard to the noble Defence he had made, gave him the Liberty of residing where he pleas'd, and King *Philip* finish'd the Conquest of *Normandy*, by taking

taking of the Castles of *Vernevil* and *Arches*. This Province, antiently call'd *Neustria*, was yielded to *Rollo* the Norman, by *Charles the Simple*, King of *France*, about the Year 912, *William the III.* the seventh Duke, making a Conquest of *England* in the Year 1060, it was afterwards subject to his Successors, Kings of *England* and Dukes of *Normandy*, till this unfortunate War, which ended Anno 1204, when King *John* the 17th Duke, and seventh King of *England* from the Conquest, lost it to *Philip* King of *France*, whereby it became united to that Monarchy again. The Historical and Geographical Description of which Province has been given already in the 11th Vol. of *Modern History*, p. 245.

The Provinces of *Maine*, *Touraine*, *Anjou* and *Poitou*, having agreed to submit to *Philip* also if they were not reliev'd at a time prefix'd, were surrender'd to him soon after *Normandy*, King *John* letting them know that he was not in a Condition to relieve them. However the *Poitouvins* soon weary of the French Yoke, and promising to obey their former Sovereign King *John*, he once more assembled the Barons, in order to recover his transmarine Dominions; but just as he was about to embark, the Earl of *Pembroke* and some other Noblemen gave him to understand that they would not follow him out of *England*, insisting probably that they were not oblig'd by their Tenures to serve him in his Foreign Wars, and accordingly the Expedition was laid aside for the present Year; but he levy'd great Sums on the Barons by way of Punishment for their Disobedience.

1205.
 Misunderstand-
 ings be-
 tween
 the Cler-
 gy and
 the King

The Clergy appear'd no less dissatisfied with the King than the Barons, for *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury* dying at this time, the Monks of that Convent proceeded to an Election at Midnight without acquainting the King with it, and made Choice of *Reginald* the Sub-Prior for their Archbishop, sending him to *Rome* with the utmost Privacy to get his Election confirm'd; but the Sub-Prior, proud of his Advancement, publish'd his good Fortune as soon as he came to *Flanders*, which his Brethren hearing of, and apprehending the King would call them to an Account before they could procure the Pope to authorize what they had done, they apply'd to the King for License to elect another; whereupon he intimated that they should chuse *John de Grey*, Bishop of *Norwich*, for their Archbishop, which they comply'd with; and the King going down with him to *Canterbury*, the Convent declar'd *Gray* duly elected Archbishop, who was afterwards enthron'd and put into Possession of the Temporalities by the King. The Convent afterwards sent fourteen of their Monks to *Rome*, to give an Account of their Proceedings. The Suffragan Bishops of the Province also sent a Deputation to the Pope at the same time, complaining of the Monks for proceeding to an Election without their Concurrence, for they insisted that they had a Right to be present and give their Votes at the Election of an Archbishop.

1206.
 The
 King re-
 covers
 part of
Poitou
 again.

While this Dispute was depending, the King rais'd a good Body of Troops, and transported them to *Rochelle*, from whence he march'd to the Assistance of the *Poitevins* who had invited him over, and recover'd great

great part of that Province from the *French*; but *Philip* applying himself to some who had an Influence on the King of *England*, persuaded him to consent to a two Years Truce, before the Expiration whereof *John* was engag'd in so many perplex'd Affairs at home that he had no time to attend those on that side the Water any more, and the *Poictovins* having lost their Protector were forc'd to submit to *Philip* again.

1206.

A Truce
between
the two
Crowns.

The Pope having heard the Cause concerning the double Election at *Canterbury*, declar'd both Elections void, and order'd the Deputation of Monks who came to *Rome*, consisting of fourteen, immediately to chuse Cardinal *Stephen Langton* their Archbishop, to which the Monks answer'd, that they could not make a Canonical Election without the Concurrence of the rest of the Convent and the King's Consent: The Pope reply'd, that they were invest'd with full Powers, having been deputed by the Convent to transact their Affairs, and that the Consent of Princes was not necessary, commanding them on pain of his Curse to chuse him for their Archbishop, whom he had appointed their Father and Pastor; and the Monks being terrified by his Threats, immediately made Choice of *Langton*, none daring to dissent but *Elias de Brantfield*; whereupon the Pope immediately confirm'd the Election, and consecrated the new Archbishop himself.

An
Archbi-
shop of
Canter-
bury e-
lected
and con-
secrated
at *Rome*.

King *John* in the mean while conven'd an Assembly of the Peers, wherein he obtain'd a Grant of a thirteenth of the Subjects Moveables, at which the People were generally disgusted, 'tis said, and the Clergy most violently oppos'd the levying of it.

1207.

Geoffry
Arch-

1207. Archbishop of York, the King's natural Brother, had the Assurance to excommunicate the Receivers and Collectors, and expecting the King would shew his Repentment on this Occasion fled beyond Sea. The Emperor *Otto*, the King's Nephew, arriving in *England* about this time, propos'd an Alliance against the *French* King, which King *John* was not averse to; but finding his People generally disaffected, did not think it advisable to enter into a Foreign War. However, the Emperor was splendidly entertain'd while he remain'd in *England*, and, 'tis said, receiv'd of King *John* several thousand Marks to enable him to continue the War against *Philip*.

The
Pope
writes to
the King
to re-
ceive
Langton
for Arch-
bishop.

The Pope expecting that King *John* would oppose *Stephen Langton*, and not suffer him peaceably to take Possession of the Archbishoprick to which his Holiness had advanc'd him in so extraordinary a manner, sent a Letter, desiring him to receive that Prelate and acknowledge him Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for that he was a Native of *England*, a Cardinal, one of great Learning, and of an unblameable Life and Conversation. He made the King a Present also of four Gold Rings set with several kind of precious Stones, telling him that they resembled the four Cardinal Virtues, which he advis'd him to Practise, with a great deal of Cant of the like Nature; but imagining that the King might not have much Regard to his pious Exhortations, he sent another Letter to the Monks of *Canterbury*, commanding them to obey *Langton* as their Archbishop; at which the King was so exasperated, that he sent two Knights with some Troops to *Canterbury*, who entering the

Mo-

Monastery with their drawn Swords, drove the Prior and Monks out of the Cloyster, and order'd them immediately to depart the Kingdom; whereupon the Monks went over to *Flanders*, and were entertain'd in the Abbey of *St. Barlin* and other *Flemish* Monasteries, their Goods and Effects which they left behind them being seiz'd by the King's Officers.

The King also wrote to the Pope, complaining of the Injury his Holiness had done him in vacating the Election of the Bishop of *Norwich*, and contrary to all former Precedents causing *Stephen Langton* to be elected at *Rome* by a small part of the Monks of *Canterbury*, a Person educated in *France*, and in the Interest of his Enemies. He proceeded to let the Pope know that he insisted on the Confirmation of the bishop of *Norwich*, declaring that if he refus'd this, neither he nor his Subjects would have any farther Correspondence with *Rome*: He had learned Bishops of his own, and if Justice was deny'd him, all Religious Matters should for the future be determin'd in his own Kingdom, or to that Effect.

The Pope in his Answer to the King's Letter justified the Election of *Langton*, and seem'd to threaten him with the same Usage his Father had met with in the Case of *Becket*, if he persisted in refusing to admit that Prelate to enjoy the Archbishoprick quietly. His Holiness also order'd the Bishops of *London*, *Worcester* and *Ely*, to let the King know that he would lay the Kingdom under an Interdict if he remain'd Contumacious, as he term'd it. To which the King reply'd, That if they publish'd an Interdict, he would send all the

Clergy

1207.

The Monks of *Canterbury* driven from thence by the King

1208.

The King's

The Clergy who deny'd their Goods and Revenues.

1208.



Clergy in *England* to the Pope to take Care of them ; and if he found any *Romans* in his Dominions, he would cause their Noses to be cut off, and their Eyes to be put out ; commanding the Bishops, in a Passion, to leave him immediately, as they valu'd their Lives: To which he was provok'd, 'tis said, by *Langton's* Brother, who told the King *they could do nothing for him, unless he would throw himself upon his Brother's Mercy.*

The
King-
dom laid
under an
Interdict

The three Bishops, in pursuance of the Pope's Orders, laid both *England* and *Wales* under an Interdict, insomuch that there was a Cessation of all Divine Service, except Baptism, Confession, and the Administration of the Eucharist to dying Persons ; none were suffer'd to be buried either in Churches or Church-yards, but the People were thrown into Pits in the Fields, without any Burial-Service. But the Bishops who publish'd the Interdict, thought fit to fly the Kingdom, as soon as they had done.

The
Clergy
who o-
bey it
depriv'd
of their
Goods
and Re-
venues.

The King hereupon sent his Orders to the Sheriffs of the several Counties of *England*, to expel the rest of the Bishops and inferior Clergy out of the Kingdom, and send them to their Master the Pope ; but he soon after revok'd this Precept, and commanded the Sheriffs to drive only those away that obey'd the Interdict, and to give all Encouragement and Protection to such as continued to perform Divine Offices, but the Lands and Revenues of the Bishops, Monks, and Clerks, who obey'd the Interdict, were seiz'd by the King's Officers, and their Goods confiscated. The Pope on the other hand, suspended all those who obey'd the King ; but I don't find that either the King's or the Pope's Commands were

were punctually observ'd. The Sheriffs were very backward in banishing the Clergy, and several Clerks continu'd to perform Divine Offices, notwithstanding the Pope's Suspension. The Clergy who kept Concubines, as most of them did at that time, were dealt with very severely, the King ordering their Women to be taken from them and imprison'd, unless they were redeem'd with a considerable Sum of Money, except such of the Clergy as declar'd for the King against the Pope.

1208.

The King apprehending that the Loyalty of many of his Subjects might be shaken on his proceeding with this Rigour against the Clergy, requir'd them to renew their Oaths of Allegiance, and accordingly every Freeman above twelve Years of Age, took the Oaths to the King at this time; and some who appear'd openly Disaffected to his Government, were oblig'd to give stronger Securities for their peaceable Behaviour. And that he might not be unprovided to defend himself in case of a Revolt, he rais'd a formidable Army, on pretence the King of *Scotland* had received and abetted some *English* Out-laws that fled thither. But upon the Approach of the *English* Army towards the Borders, a Treaty was set on Foot between the two Princes, who had neither of them any great Inclination to enter into a War, wherein it was stipulated, That the King of *Scotland* should pay King *John* eleven thousand Marks of Silver, and leave his two Daughters in the *English* Court, as Hostages or Pledges, that he would not disturb the Peace of King *John's* Dominions. And at his

1209.

A Treaty
with
Scotland

1209.

The
King
excom-
muni-
cated.

his Return to *Woodstock*, the Princes of *Wales* came thither and renew'd their Homage.

The Pope in the mean while being determin'd to Distress the King as far as his Spiritual Artillery would reach, thunder'd out his Curses and Excommunications against the King, and all his Subjects that obey'd him; and tho' the Bishops who were commanded to publish the Excommunication in *England*, either out of Affection to the King or the Dread of his Power, did not obey the Pope's Orders in this particular, yet the Sentence was so generally known, that some Great Officers in the Administration laid down their Commissions and refus'd to Act; particularly *Geoffry* Archdeacon of *Norwich*, who belong'd to the Treasury, left his Post, declaring that his Conscience would not suffer him to obey an excommunicated Prince; at which the King was so exasperated, that he order'd him to be imprison'd and laid in Irons, where he soon after died, his Death being occasion'd, as 'tis said, by the Hardships he suffer'd there.

1210.

The King still kept up a good Body of Standing Troops as his best Security against the Pope and his Adherents, for which *Ireland* furnish'd him this Year with a Pretence, many of the petty Princes in that Island disclaiming any Dependance on *England*, and particularly the Prince of *Connaught*; but the King transporting his Army to *Dublin*, most of the *Irish* Royalties came in, paid their Homage, and took the Oaths to him. *Cuthol* Prince of *Connaught* only stood out, against whom the King march'd, and having taken the strong Places he possess'd, made *Cuthol* his Prisoner; whereupon the whole Nation submitted, and

and King *John* introduc'd the *English* Laws and Customs amongst them, after which he took Hostages of the *Irish* for their peaceable Behaviour for the future, and leaving the Bishop of *Norwich* (whom he design'd for the See of *Canterbury*) his Viceroy in that Kingdom, he return'd to *England*. As he pass'd thro' *Wales*, he oblig'd the *Welsh* Princes to do him Homage, and deliver him twenty-eight Hostages as a Pledge of their Loyalty. And thus having humbled both the *Irish* and *Welsh*, he came up in a triumphant Manner towards *London*, being met on the Road by two *Nuntio's* from the Pope, who pretended they were come into *England* to endeavour a Reconciliation between the King and his Clergy, tho' in reality their sole Intention was to compleat the King's Ruin: For notwithstanding the King offer'd to restore the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the rest of the Bishops and Clergy, and consented that the Church should enjoy all the Rights and Privileges she did in the Reign of *Edward the Confessor*, the *Nuntio's* abruptly broke off the Treaty, pretending that the King refus'd to make the Clergy Satisfaction for the Losses they had sustain'd, which our Historians observe was not in his Power to do; and thereupon they publish'd the Excommunication against the King, which was the principal Design of their Voyage. Then the Pope proceeded to absolve all his Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance, and commanded them, on pain of Excommunication, to avoid the King in Publick and Private, at his Councils, his Table, and common Conversation.

The Nobility who were already Disaffected, and only restrain'd by the Oaths they had taken, The
 Vol. XVI. N n n English Nobility

1210.

1211.

The
 Subjects
 absolv'd
 from
 their Al-
 legiance.

1212.
in a Con-
spiracy
againſt
the King

taken, or a Senſe of their Duty, being thus abſolv'd from their Allegiance, enter'd into a Conſpiracy againſt the King, and according to ſome Hiſtorians, held a Correſpondence with *Philip* King of *France*, offering to obey him as their Sovereign, if he would bring over a Body of Forces and protect them againſt the Tyranny and Oppreſſion of King *John*, who was now aſſembling an Army, in order to march againſt the *Welſh*, and reſtrain the Incurſions they had made this Year into the *Engliſh* Pale. The King received Intelligence of the Conſpiracy of his Nobility from the King of *Scots* before he begun his March; but not giving entire Credit to the Advice, he hang'd up the Hoſtages he had receiv'd in *Wales* the Year before, and mov'd forwards with his Army as far as *Cheſter*, where receiving more certain Intelligence that the very Barons and their Dependants who compos'd great part of his Army were in the Conſpiracy, he diſmiſs'd them and return'd to *London*, where having aſſembled ſome Troops that he could depend upon, he requir'd ſuch of the Nobility as he moſt ſuſpected to give him Hoſtages as Pledges of their Loyalty, which they were oblig'd to do, unleſs ſome few of them that fled beyond Sea, the Conſpirators not being in a Condition to form an Army at this Juncture to make Head againſt the King.

The
Pope
decrees
King
John de-
poſ'd and
gives his
King-

The Pope receiving Intelligence of the Diſpoſition of the Barons to revolt, and urg'd by the Complaints of Archbiſhop *Langton*, and the reſt of the proſcrib'd Biſhops and Clergy, proceeded in a ſolemn manner to decree King *John* abſolutely depoſ'd from his Kingdom, and requir'd the *French* King to put

put the Sentence in Execution; for which he promis'd him Remission of all his Sins, together with the Kingdom of *England*, in perpetual Right, when he should have dethron'd the present Possessor. He invited also all Knights and Military Men in *Christendom* to sign themselves with the Cross, and follow the King of *France* as their General in this Expedition against King *John*, and endeavour to vindicate the Injury done to the Catholick Church, decreeing further, that whoever contributed either Money or other Assistance towards the subduing of this contumacious King should be secure, not only in their Goods and Persons, but also as to their Souls thro' the Prayers of the Church, and they should enjoy the same Privileges with those who visited the Sepulchre of our Lord.

The *French* King, we may believe, was very ready to execute the Pope's Orders; he had already, without any such Encouragement, depriv'd King *John* of all his Territories on the Continent, except *Guienne* or the Dutchy of *Aquitain*, and would gladly have added the *British* Isles to his former Conquests. He summon'd therefore all his Nobility, Knights and others, who held of him by any Military Tenures, to appear at *Rouen*, where he form'd a very numerous Army. He fitted out a very great Fleet also that rendezvous'd at the Mouth of the *Seine*, in order to make a Descent upon *England*. But notwithstanding the Pope had empower'd *Philip* to take Possession of the *English* Throne, and put him to so vast an Expence to effect it, he sent *Pandolph* his Nuntio to King *John* to let him know he might yet remain King of *England* if he would submit himself to the See of *Rome*; nor had

dom to
the
French
King.

1213.

1213.

King
John as-
sembles
his
Forces.

John been wanting in any Measures that might contribute to his Defence in case of an Invasion. He had issu'd out Writs to the Sheriffs of the respective Counties to summon the Barons and other immediate Tenants of the Crown to appear with their Vassals and Dependents at *Dover*, and other Writs were directed to the Bailiffs of the Sea Ports to send all the Shipping in their Ports to the General Rendezvous upon the Coast of *Kent*; whereupon a great Fleet and Army were assembled on a sudden, of which the King retain'd only 60,000 Land Forces who were encamp'd on *Barham-Downs* near *Dover*, and such a Number of Ships as he thought necessary to prevent a Descent.

Pan-
dolph the
Pope's
Legate
arrives.

Thus prepar'd, the Pope's Legate *Pandolph* found King *John* when he arriv'd at *Dover*. The Legate acquainted him what a prodigious Army the *French* King had assembled in order to invade the Kingdom, and let him know that the fine Troops he seem'd to rely upon were all in the *French* Interest, and had actually executed an Instrument inviting over King *Philip* to accept the Crown, and that there was no way left to prevent his impending Ruin but by submitting himself to the Apostolick See.

The
King re-
solves to
submit to
the Pope

The King was already too well appriz'd of *Philip's* readiness to invade *England*, as well as of the Disaffection of the Barons; and therefore, after some little pause, resolv'd to submit to the Pope, believing that however hard the Terms might be, they would be more tolerable than those he must expect from his antient and implacable Enemy King *Philip*; whereupon the Legate produc'd the Conditions of Reconciliation which had been drawn

drawn up by the Pope, and were as follow,
viz. That the King should obey the Com-
 mands of his Holiness in all things for which
 he had been excommunicated, and make a full
 Restitution for all things which had been
 taken from the Clergy or Laity on Account
 of the Interdict or depending Contest, for
 which he was to lay down eight thousand
 Pounds in part, and to pardon and receive
 into Favour, not only the proscribed Bishops,
 but also the Prior and Monks of *Canterbury*,
 and all other Clerks and Laicks concern'd in
 it. That he would confirm these things by his
 Letters Patents, and cause as many Bishops
 and Barons as should be chosen by the Arch-
 bishop and Bishops to become Sureties for
 him. And that if he, or any other by his Or-
 der, should violate this Agreement, then
 those Barons or Bishops, on behalf of the
 Church,, should adhere to the Pope's Com-
 mands against them; and that he would
 for ever relinquish the Custody of vacant
 Churches. That he would send these Letters
 of Security to the Archbishop and Bishops
 before their Return into *England*. And fi-
 nally, That he would utterly disclaim his
 Right to Out-law any Clergy-man or Lay-
 man so far as it related to this matter.

The King having taken an Oath to observe
 all these Injunctions, the Legate, by Virtue
 of that Clause wherein he promised *to obey the
 Pope in all things*, oblig'd him to sign another
 Instrument, whereby he resign'd his Kingdom
 to the Pope, declaring at the same time that
 he did not do it out of Fear or Constraint,
 but of his own Accord in a Council of his
 Barons, to make Satisfaction to God and his
 Church for his Offences; and that he would
 for

1213.
 The
 Condi-
 tions.

1213.
The King re-
signs the
Crown and be-
comes a
Homage-
ger to
the Pope.

for the future hold his Crown of the See of *Rome*, paying an annual Pension of a thousand Marks for the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*; and accordingly he did Homage to the Pope, whom *Pandolph* represented, resign'd his Crown, and paid part of the Pension agreed on in the Church of *Dover*, in the Presence of several of the Nobility and a Multitude of other People. This our Historians observe was transacted on *Ascension-Day*, being the very same Day that a certain Hermit nam'd *Peter* had foretold that King *John* should lose his Crown, for which the Man had been committed to Prison, and was afterwards hang'd by the King's Orders. *Pandolph* having kept the Crown and Regalia in his Hands three or four Days, return'd them to the King again, giving him to understand that he was now become a Subject and Vassal to the See of *Rome*. And however the Barons might pretend to despise the King afterwards for this abject Behaviour, I don't find that any of them shew'd their Dislike, or protested against this Proceeding, while it was transacting: Only 'tis related, that *Pandolph* spurning the Purse of Money from him, which was paid in part of the Tribute above-mention'd, the Archbishop of *Dublin* could not forbear reflecting on the intolerable Pride of the Nuncio when he observ'd him use the King with that Insolence and Contempt.

The Legate for-
bids *Philip's*
making a
Descent
upon
England

The Legate *Pandolph* having executed that part of his Commission which related to King *John*, embark'd again for *France*, where he found King *Philip* upon the point of transporting his Troops; but the Legate prohibited his making a Descent upon *England*, acquainting him that King *John* was now become

come an obedient Son of the Church. To which the *French King* answer'd, That as he had already been at a vast Expence in making Preparations for this Expedition, and undertaken it at the Incitement of the Pope in order to obtain the Remission of his Sins, he should not be deterr'd from it by any future Censures; demanding of his Nobility and Vassals if they were not ready to assist him in the intended Descent on *England*; to which they all consented unless the Earl of *Flanders*, who represented that the Expedition was both unjust and impracticable since the Pope oppos'd it, and that he ought rather to restore the Provinces he had already taken from King *John* than attempt the depriving him of what he still possess'd, and the Earl absolutely refus'd to attend *Philip* in the Voyage; at which the *French King* was so exasperated that he immediately commanded his Troops to march towards *Flanders*, and his Fleet to the Mouth of the *Scheld*, in order to invade the Earl's Territories both by Sea and Land. Of which King *John* receiving Intelligence, he order'd his Navy, which was commanded by his Brother the Earl of *Salisbury*, and lay over against the Coast of *Flanders*, to sail to the Assistance of the Earl; which Orders the *English Admirals* executed with that Conduct and Bravery that they took three hundred Ships, destroy'd an hundred more, and the rest of the *French Fleet* was burnt or destroy'd by their own Hands to prevent their being taken, which perfectly put an End to King *Philip's* Project of invading *England*.

The Earl of *Flanders* declares against the Expedition to *England*.

King *John* sends his Fleet to assist the Earl of *Flanders* and obtains a Victory over the *French*.

On the other hand King *John* entering into an Alliance with the Emperor and the Earl of *Flanders*, thought himself now in a Condition

He proposes the Recovery to very of

1213.
 the
 Places he
 had lost
 in France
 but the
 Barons
 refuse to
 follow
 him thi-
 ther.

to attempt the Recovery of the Territories he had lost in *France*; whereupon he commanded his Troops to rendezvous at *Portsmouth*; but when he was about to embark them the Barons declar'd they could not follow him, because he was not yet absolv'd from his Excommunication, which *Pandolph* the Legate had on purpose deferr'd till Archbishop *Langton* should arrive and be put into the peaceable Possession of his Archbishoprick; whereupon the King immediately sent over for the Archbishop and the rest of the exil'd Bishops and Clergy, that he might receive Absolution from them. When they approach'd the Palace of *Winchester* the King went out to meet them, and throwing himself at their Feet, desir'd, with Tears in his Eyes, that they would have Compassion upon him and the Kingdom; whereupon the Bishops lifted him up, and leading him into the Chapter-houle at *Winchester* gave him Absolution on his taking the following Oath, viz. That he would to the utmost of his Power love, defend and maintain the Holy Church. That he would re-establish the good Laws of his Ancestors, especially those of King *Edward*, and destroy such as were wicked. That he would judge all his Subjects according to the just Judgment of his Courts, and restore to every Man his Right. He also swore that he would make full Satisfaction to all concern'd in the Interdict for what had been taken from them, and that before next *Easter*.

At this time also he renew'd his Oath of Allegiance to Pope *Innocent* and his Successors, whereby he thought all Objections against his intended Expedition were remov'd; but when he came to *Portsmouth* in order to embark

bark his Troops, the Barons represented that they had attended there with their Vassals so long that their Money and Provisions were already exhausted, and unless he supply'd them out of his own Stores they were in no Condition to undertake the Voyage. The King however imagining this was but a Pretence, and that they would follow him, embark'd and sail'd as far as the *Isle of Jersey*; but understanding the Barons were march'd home again, he found himself oblig'd to return to *England*, where having assembled such Troops as were most devoted to his Service, he determin'd to revenge his Disappointment upon such of the Barons as had appear'd most forward in opposing the Enterprize; but the Archbishop met him at *Northampton*, and prohibited his advancing any further against them, declaring it would be a Violation of his Oath to levy War against any of his Barons till they had been adjudg'd guilty of some Crime in the Courts of Law. To which the King answer'd angrily, That he was not to be diverted from his Purpose by the Archbishop, who was an Ecclesiastick, and had nothing to do to intermeddle in Secular Affairs, and thereupon continu'd his March to *Nottingham*, whither the Archbishop also follow'd him, threatening to excommunicate all his Adherents if they enter'd upon any Martial Enterprize before the Interdict was taken off; whereupon the King was compell'd to desist from pursuing the disaffected Barons, and contented himself with summoning them to appear in Court and answer their Disobedience on a certain Day. In the mean time a great Assembly of the Spiritual and Temporal Nobility being met on the 25th of *August*

1213. at St. Paul's in London on account of the Interdict, the Archbishop publish'd an Indulgence to all Churches to Chant over the publick Prayers in a low Voice, the Kingdom having lain under the Interdict ever since the Year 1208; after which, according to common Fame says *Paris*, the Archbishop propos'd privately to some of the Barons the entering into a Confederacy to compel the King to perform the Oath he had sworn when he receiv'd Absolution, (*viz.*) to govern them according to their antient Laws, &c. and produc'd at the same time the Charter of Privileges granted by *Henry I.* to his Subjects, a Copy of which had been sent to every Abbey of the Kingdom; tho' they were all lost or destroy'd, our Historians observe, except this which the Archbishop had in his Hands. The Substance of this Charter the Reader will find in the beginning of the Reign of *Henry I.* and the Charter itself in *Matthew Paris*, p. 202.

The Barons enter into a Conspiracy against the King.

These Charters or Grants of our Kings were then looked upon as the Basis and Foundation of the Peoples Liberties, and are now of the same Authority as Acts of Parliament. *Magna Charta* or the *Great Charter*, and the *Forest Charter* in the beginning of our Statute Book, are Instruments of this kind: But whether the Barons could legally enter into a Confederacy to compel the King to perform such Charters as his Ancestors had granted, is not altogether so clear. They might refuse to Obey the illegal Commands of the King, and yet not have a coercive Power over him; for if so, the Sovereign Power must be lodg'd in them, which it cannot be suppos'd any King by his Charter or Grant

over

ever intended. But however that be, it seems 1213.
 the Barons took their Oaths in the Presence of the Archbishop, ' That they would defend
 ' the Liberties granted them by the Charter A Confederacy
 ' of Henry I. with the Hazard of their Lives. ' of the
 And the Archbishop promis'd to assist them Barons
 to the utmost of his Power. And this, 'tis against
 observ'd, was the first Confederacy form'd the King
 by the Barons against their King, in Defence of
 their Liberties since the Conquest; which 'tis
 suggested, was the more necessary at this
 time, because the King upon the Death of
Geoffry Fitz-peter the Chief Justiciary, re-
 fus'd to have any Regard either to his Char-
 ters or his Oaths, but seem'd determin'd to
 Govern them in an arbitrary Manner. They
 relate, that when he heard of the Death of
 the Justiciary, he said, *He was not King of*
England till now; and when Fitz-peter came
to Hell, he would certainly find Archbishop Hu-
bert there, with whom he had always combin'd
to frustrate his Measures.

About this time arriv'd another Legate,
 Cardinal *Nicolas*, Bishop of *Tusculum*, with
 Orders from his Holiness to relax the Inter-
 dict. The principal Reason it had been thus
 long delay'd was, that the Bishops and Cler-
 gy who were exil'd made such large Demands
 on the King, that he found it impossible to sa-
 tisfy them; he offer'd them an hundred thou-
 sand Marks, which the Legate thought suf-
 ficient, but they chose rather to let the King-
 dom remain under the Interdict than accept
 this Sum; whereupon the Legate gave King
John to understand, That if he would pub-
 lickly and voluntarily confirm the Surrender
 of the Crown to the Pope, his Holiness wou'd
 protect him against all his disaffected Subjects,

1213. whether of the Clergy or Laity; and the King, rather than see himself insulted and controll'd by his Subjects, complied with the Proposal, and in a great Assembly of the Clergy and Barons in *St. Paul's Church at London*, formally resign'd his Kingdom of *England* and Lordship of *Ireland* to the Pope again; and whereas the Instrument of Resignation was formerly seal'd with Wax, it was seal'd with Gold, and deliver'd to the Legate for the Use of the Pope and his Successors. Whereupon Archbishop *Langton* stood up, and solemnly protested against this Act of the King's, in subjecting his Dominions to the See of *Rome*, leaving his Protest upon the High Altar, for he was satisfied no Charters of Liberties would be of any Force, if ever the Pope should find it his Interest to dispense with them, which he would not fail to do in behalf of the King, who was become his Vassal. But 'tis highly probable, King *John* had never submitted to this Indignity, if he had not been appriz'd of the Confederacy of the Clergy and Barons against him. It seems to have been the natural Fruit of their Disloyalty, their aspiring to the Sovereign Power, and attempting to make the King their Slave; they might have defended themselves and oppos'd their King in a legal Way, but to enter into a Conspiracy to compel him by Force of Arms to yield to their Demands, is such an Insult as no Sovereign Prince will bear, and indeed he ceases to be a Sovereign, whenever his Subjects are invested with such a Power.

The King confirms the Surrender of his Kingdom to the Pope.

Langton Archbishop of *Canterbury* protests against King *John's* transferring his Kingdom to the Pope. Whether the Barons were not the Occasion of it.

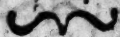
1214. *Langton* having thus declar'd himself against the King's surrendering his Dominions to the Pope, drew upon himself the Resentment

ment of his Holiness, who thereupon order'd the Legate to fill up all Vacancies in the Church, without having any regard to the Archbishop; and the Legate in pursuance of his Orders, conferr'd the vacant Benefices, either upon the King's Favourites, or on the *Italians* his Relations and Countrymen, however unworthy or unqualified on Account of their Minority or otherwise; and if we may credit some Historians, he reserv'd Preferments for Children that were unborn, for which, however, the Archbishop could meet with no Redress, tho' he appeal'd to *Rome* against these infamous Practices; and the Pope appear'd now so much in the Interest of King *John*, that he order'd the exil'd Clergy to accept of forty thousand Marks in lieu of all their Demands, and the Legate took off the Interdict on the 29th of *June*, 1214, (after the Nation had remain'd under it, without Divine Service in the Churches or elsewhere, for the Space of six Years and there Months) upon which Occasion *Te Deum* was sung, and there were great Rejoycings.

And now King *John* having prevail'd on the Barons to pass the Seas with him, recover'd great part of the Province of *Poitou*, after which he march'd into *Anjou*; but the fickle *Poitouvins* deserting him just as he was about to give Battle to *Lewis* the Dauphin, and *Philip* obtaining a compleat Victory over his Allies the *Imperialists* and *Flemings* at *Bovines*, he thought fit to return to *England*, after he had concluded a Truce with *France* for five Years; after which he found himself so much embarrass'd by Domestick Troubles, that he never made any further Attempt towards the Recovery of his Foreign Dominions.

The

1214.



1215.

The Barons demand the Confirmation of their Liberties

The King was scarce return'd to *England* but great Numbers of the Barons, under Pretence of a Pilgrimage, assembled at *St. Edmund's-Bury*, where they enter'd into an Association, binding themselves by an Oath, that if the King refus'd to confirm their Privileges, they would withdraw themselves from his Obedience, and compel him to confirm them by Force of Arms. Accordingly the *Christmas* following they march'd to *London* with a select Body of Troops, and demanded of the King, the Revival of the Laws of King *Edward*, and the Confirmation of the Charter of *Henry I.* And as the King was not in a Condition to oppose them, he only desir'd they would give him Time to consider of their Demands till *Easter*, and in the mean time, oblig'd the Barons to renew their Oaths of Allegiance.

At the time appointed, the King being at *Oxford*, expected to have seen the Barons there, but he understood they had assembled a great Army at *Stamford*; whereupon he sent to them to know what Laws and Liberties they desir'd the Confirmation of. In answer to which, they sent him a long Schedule of the antient Customs of the Kingdom in the time of the *Saxons*, declaring that if he did not immediately confirm them by his Charter, they would seize upon his Castles and Lands, and compel him to it. The King having read over this Schedule, observ'd that the Barons might as well have demanded his Kingdom; adding, that they were foolish and without Precedent, and he would never execute a Charter which would make him a Slave to his Subjects.

The King rejects their Demands as unreasonable.

The

The Barons hereupon bid Defiance to the King, and renounc'd their Allegiance; and having appointed the Lord *Fitz-water* their General, to whom they gave the Title of *The Marshal of the Army of God, and of the Holy Church*, they laid Siege to the Castle of *Northampton*, which making a better Defence than they expected, they march'd to *Bedford-Castle*, which their Friend *Beauchamp* the Governor surrender'd to them. And here receiving Intelligence that the City of *London* were zealous for them, they hastned their March thither; and *Aldgate* being deliver'd up to them, by those who had the Guard of it, in the Night time, their Army enter'd the City before the King had Notice of their Approach, and afterwards laid Siege to the Tower.

From *London* they sent Expresses to all the Lords of the King's Party, and to those who affected to stand Neuter in this War, that unless they join'd their Forces with the Barons, they would destroy their Houses and Estates; which induc'd great Numbers to join them, who had no such Design before.

The King finding he could not raise Forces to suppress an Insurrection that was so general, sent the Earl of *Pembroke* and some other Noblemen, to acquaint the Barons, He would grant them the Laws they desired, and order'd them to appoint some certain Time and Place where he might meet them and transact the Affair. Whereupon the Barons fix'd upon the 15th Day of *June*, to meet the King in *Rummede*, between *Stains* and *Windsor*; a Place, 'tis said, where former Treaties had been held, concerning the Peace

1215. Peace of the Kingdom, from whence it was call'd *Rummeead*, or the *Mead of Council*.

The King meets the Barons at *Rummeead*. The Parties meeting here according to Appointment, it was observ'd there appear'd but five or six Noblemen on the King's side, among whom was the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who affected to act the part of a Mediator, tho' he was in reality the principal Occasion of the Insurrection. The Barons on the contrary, were very numerous, as well as their Forces, and their Demands were suitable to their Superiority.

These Charters being generally the same that we meet with at the beginning of every Statute-Book, and there said to be made in the 9th Year of *Hen. III.* and confirm'd by King *Edward I.* in the 28th Year of his Reign, I shall refer the Reader to the Statutes at large, and only take Notice here of some of the most material Articles contain'd in them.

The Great Charter and the Forest Charter confirm'd
15 June
1215.

By the Charter of Liberties or the Great Charter, the King granted, ' That the Church of *England* should be free, and enjoy all her Rights and Privileges.

' That if any Earl, Baron, or other Person, holding of the King by Knight's Service (Military Tenure) should die, his Heir being of full Age, the Heir should have his Inheritance, paying the old Relief, (i.e. the Heir of an Earl, for every Earldom, should pay an hundred Pounds; the Heir of a Baron, for every Barony, an hundred Marks; the Heir of a Knight for every Knight's-Fee, one hundred Shillings; and he that was Heir to less than a Knight's-Fee, should pay in Proportion to what he held. ' [For the Explanation whereof,

give

give me leave to observe, that twelve Hides or Plough Lands, made one Knight's Fee; and that a Hide of Land, which might consist of Wood, Meadow, and Pasture, as well as Arable, was about an hundred Acres, or as much as one Team could manage, in those Days valued at five Nobles *per Ann.* and esteem'd the Living of a Yeoman; a Knight's-Fee containing twelve of these Hides consequently consisted of twelve hundred Acres, then valued at twenty Pounds *per Ann.* thirteen Knights-Fees and a half made a Barony, which was four hundred Marks *per Ann.* twenty Knights-Fees made an Earldom, worth four hundred Pounds *per Ann.* and of later Times, two Baronies made a Marquisdom, and two Earldoms a Dukedom. The Relief of a Knight and all above him, as appears by this Charter, was a fourth part of their Yearly Revenue, which was paid on their Admittance to their Estates; besides which, he that held by a whole Knight's-Fee was oblig'd to serve forty Days in the Wars; he that held by half a Knight's-Fee, twenty, and so in Proportion, as each Person was possess'd of more or less.] But to proceed. If the Heir was within Age, the Lord was not to have the Wardship of him, or take Possession of his Lands, till he had receiv'd his Homage; and after such Heir had been in Ward, and arriv'd at full Age, he was to have his Inheritance, without paying Relief or Fine. [The Reason why the King or other Lord was to have the Wardship or Guardianship of the Heir and his Lands till he came of Age, was, that he might provide another to do the Service, which the Heir during his Minority, was not able to perform in Person.]



The HISTORY of ENGLAND.

That the Guardian to whom the Lands of such Heirs should be committed, should take but reasonable Issues, Customs, and Services, without Destruction or Wast, either of the Lands, Men, [Villains,] or Estate.

That the Guardian should keep up the Houles, Parks, Warrens, Ponds, Mills, &c. belonging to such Lands, out of the Issues thereof, and restore to the Heir, when he came of full Age, all his Lands stor'd with Ploughs, and other Utenfils and Implements of Husbandry, &c.

That Heirs should be married without Disparagement, [i. e. not to People of inferior Quality.]

That a Widow after the Death of her Husband, should have her Marriage Inheritance and Quarentine, without giving any thing for them; and that she should have a third part of her Husband's Lands assign'd for her Dower.

That the King would not impose any Scutage or Tax on those who held by Military Tenures, but in the Common Council of the Kingdom, unless for his Ransom, to make his eldest Son a Knight, or to marry his eldest Daughter.

That the City of London, and all other Cities and Burroughs, Cinque Ports and Towns, should enjoy their Rights and Liberties, and have the Common Council of the Kingdom, i. e. Should have their Commissioners or Deputies at the Common Council of the Kingdom, says Dr. Brady. The Words of the Charter are, *Habeant omnes libertates & omnes liberas Consuetudines suas. Et ad habendum commune Consilium Regni de Auxilijs*



Auxilijs assidendis, except in the three Cases above-mention'd.

That for the Assessing of Scutages, the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, and Great Barons, should be summon'd singly, and that all others *who held in Chief*, should be summon'd in general by the Sheriffs and Bayliffs, to appear at a certain Day and Place, forty Days at least before their Meeting, the Cause of meeting to be declar'd in the Summons. [From whence it appears, that none but the Barons and Tenants in Capite were Members of the General Assemblies or Common Councils in those Days.]

That Common Pleas should not follow the Court, but be holden at a certain Place, and that Assizes of *Novel Disseisin*, *Mort d'Ancestor*, and *Darein Presentment*, should be taken in the proper Counties by the King's Justices Annually, who with the Knights of the Shire, should hold the said Assizes in the respective Counties; and those Things which were too difficult to be determin'd there, should be referr'd to the Justices of the King's-Bench.

That a Freeman should not be amerced but according to the Nature of his Offence, and saving to him his Contenement, and saving to a Merchant his Merchandize, [i. e. Goods and Implements sufficient to carry on their respective Employments.]

That Earls and Barons should not be amerced, but by their Peers, and according to the Nature of the Offence.

That Ecclesiasticks should be amerced but according to their Lay-Tenements.

1215


That no Sheriff, Constable, Escheator or Coroner should hold Pleas of the Crown, [determine Criminal Matters.]

That the King's Debtor dying, the King should be first paid.

That the King should retain the Lands of one dying convicted of Felony but a Year and a Day, and then they should be deliver'd to the Lord of the Fee.

That Measures and Weights should be the same throughout the Kingdom.

That no Freeman should be taken or imprison'd, or disseiz'd of his Freehold Liberties or Free Customs, or be out-law'd, exil'd, or otherwise destroy'd; nor should the King pass upon him or imprison him, but by lawful Judgment of his Peers, or by the Law of the Land, [Legal Process.] And because this Clause in the Great Charter is held to be still in Force, and is deem'd of such Consequence to the Liberties of the Subjects, I shall here transcribe the Words of it, *Nullus Liber homo captatur, vel Imprisonetur, aut disseisetur de aliquo libero tenemento suo, vel libertatibus, vel liberis, consuetudinibus suis, aut uilegetur, aut exulet, aut aliquo alio modo destituatur, nec super eum ibimus, nec eum in Carcere mittimus, nisi per Legale iudicium parium suorum, vel per legem terre.*

That the King should neither sell, deny, or delay Right or Justice to any Man.

That Foreign Merchants should be protected, and trade securely here.

That it should not be lawful for any Man to give or transfer his Lands to a Religious House.

The
 Forest
 Charter.

By the Forest Charter it was granted, That all Forests which Henry II. had affo-
 'rested

rested should be view'd by lawful Men;
 and if he had turn'd any Subject's Woods
 into Forest they should be disafforested and
 laid open: But the Woods belonging to
 the Crown should remain Forest, saving the
 Commons to those who formerly common'd
 there.

That Dogs kept within the Forest should
 be law'd (i. e. The three Claws of each fore
 Foot cut off) when the View was kept e-
 very three Years.

That the Swainmote should be held but
 three times in the Year.

That every Freeman might agist his
 Woods in the Forest and receive Pannage.

That no Man should lose Life or Limb
 for taking the King's Venison; but if con-
 victed he should be grievously fin'd, and if
 he had nothing to pay, be imprison'd for a
 Year. [From whence it appears that be-
 fore this Charter it was as Penal to kill the
 King's Deer as to kill a Man.]

Provided, that it should be lawful for a
 Nobleman passing thro' the King's Forests
 to kill a Deer or two if he sounded a Horn
 and did it in a publick manner.

That every Freeman might erect Mills
 in his own Woods or Lands within the
 Forest, or make Warrens, Ponds, Pits or
 Ditches, or convert the same into Arable
 Land, so that they were not enclos'd or
 prejudicial to their Neighbours.

That Pleas of the Forest should be holden
 before the Chief Justices of the Forest.

Thus much it seem'd necessary to insert of
 these two Charters, to enable the Reader to
 form some Idea of them: and tho' the Arti-
 cles themselves may appear just and reasona-
 ble,



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ble, at least such of them as remain in Force, (for as to those Clauses in them that relate to Wards, Marriages, and Military Tenures, these were abolish'd by 12 Car. II. cap. 23.) yet the Method of putting them in Execution could not be easily digested by a Sovereign Prince; for it was provided that twenty-five Barons should be chosen to see these Charters duly observ'd, four of whom were to be a *Quorum*; and if any Complaint was made before them of the Breach of these Laws, they were to admonish the King of it, and if the Party griev'd met with no Redress within 40 Days, then it was to be consider'd by the whole Body of the Barons, who were empower'd to take Possession of the King's Castles and Demesne Lands, and by these and by all other imaginable ways, except the Seizure of his Person and the Persons of his Queen and Children, compel the King to redress the Grievances complain'd of, and the Subjects, in case any Clause in these Charters should be broken, were authoriz'd to take Oaths to the Barons, and become Subjects to them until the Matters complain'd of should be regulated to their Satisfaction. The King also was oblig'd to send his Letters Patents to the Sheriffs of the respective Counties, commanding them to administer an Oath to all the King's Subjects that they would observe the abovesaid Laws, and if Necessary requir'd *Compel* the King to observe them. And it was further agreed, that the City of *London* should remain in the Hands of the Barons till the 15th of *August* following, and the Tower of *London* in the Hands of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.



The Barons having obtain'd these Terms, 'tis said, thought themselves extremely happy, but on the contrary the King look'd upon himself to be no less miserable. He would never have agreed that the Barons should assume Sovereign Power, and his Subjects be absolv'd from their Allegiance whenever they were pleas'd to suggest he had infring'd their Liberties, unless he had been driven to it by downright Force. Accordingly we find him, from that Moment the Charters were sign'd, contriving how to extricate himself and break thro' those Articles he had been thus oblig'd to execute. He forsook his Palaces and usual Places of Residence, broke off all Conversation with his Subjects, and retir'd to the *Isle of Wight*, where he might unobserv'd enter upon Measures to recover his lost Authority.

And first he sent a Deputation to the Pope, He desiring to be absolv'd from his Oath he had been forc'd to take to observe the Charters, with which his Holiness very readily comply'd, and when the Charters were shewn him, demanded *If the Barons of England durst attempt to dethrone a King who had taken upon him the Cross, and was under the Protection of the See of Rome, or could force him to transfer the Dominions of the Holy See to Strangers, swearing by St. Peter that the Injury should not go unpunish'd.* Nor did the Pope only declare the Charters void, but sent a Letter to the Barons, requiring that they should not insist upon the King's performing the Articles contain'd in them. See *Rymer's Fœdera*, p. 200. 202, 205.

The King in the mean time sent Officers into *France* and *Flanders* to raise Troops, and He introduces an Army

1215. invite Adventurers into his Service, promising to give them Lands in *England* in Proportion to the Forces they should bring to his Assistance; which had such an Effect, that great Numbers of Knights and Military Men embark'd for *England*, and soon enabled the King to take the Field and act offensively against the Barons, notwithstanding *Hugh de Boves*, with forty thousand Foreigners, were cast away near *Calais* as they were coming over to join King *John*.

The King receiving Advice of the Arrival of the Foreign Troops left the *Isle of Wight*, and putting himself at the Head of them, march'd to besiege *Rockester Castle*, which holding out longer than was expected, 'tis said he threatened to hang all the Garrison, but was dissuaded from it lest the Enemy should retaliate it on his own People.

And tho' the Barons one would think should have had time enough to assemble their Troops during the time the Siege of *Rockester* lasted, yet it does not appear that they had any Army in the Field capable of opposing the King's Designs. They shut themselves up in *London* while he divided his Army in two parts, with one whereof he ravag'd the North in Person, burning and plundering the Estates of the Barons and their Tenants that were not in his Interest; while the Earl of *Salisbury*, with the other part of the Army, did the same in the South; and the Pope at the same time excommunicated the Barons and their Adherents, who continu'd nevertheless to oppose King *John* to the utmost of their Power. As to the Excommunication they said it did not affect them, because they were not particularly named, and the Archbishop

Bishop refus'd to denounce the Sentence tho' requir'd by the Pope; whereupon the Legate *Pandolph* and the Bishop of *Winchester* solemnly pronounc'd the Excommunication, and suspended the Archbishop from all Episcopal Authority, which Suspension the Pope confirm'd.

The following Year his Holiness excommunicated the disaffected Barons by Name, and interdicted all their Lands, and particularly the City of *London*, their head Quarters. But these Spiritual Censures had little Effect on them: They alledg'd sometimes that they were obtain'd by false Suggestion; and at others that the Pope had nothing to do to intermeddle in Secular Matters, and therefore they were of no Force. The King thereupon renew'd his Devastations on their Estates, which he look'd upon as a more effectual Means to compel them to return to their Duty than Church Censures; and such were the Cruelties exercis'd on the miserable *English* by these mercenary Troops, if we may credit *Matthew Paris*, that they were not to be parallel'd in History. Every kind of Torture that their Enemies could invent was inflicted on the unhappy Vassals of the Barons, which their Lords not knowing how to remedy by any other Means than submitting to their enraged Prince, chose rather to call in the *French* to their Assistance. Accordingly they sent a Deputation to *Philip King of France*, offering to accept the Dauphin for their Sovereign if he would send him over with a sufficient Force to protect them against King *John*.

Philip very readily clos'd with their Proposal, and upon their giving him five and twenty Hostages as a Pledge of their Sincerity,

The Pope excommunicates the Barons.

The Barons offer Lewis the French King's Son the Crown.

1216. rity, sent them an immediate Supply of Troops, which sailing up the *Thames* arriv'd safe at *London*. He promis'd also they should suddenly be reinforc'd by his Son *Lewis*, and a more considerable Body of Men.

The Pope threatens to excommunicate Prince *Lewis* and the Enemies of King *John*.

He transports an Army into *England* notwithstanding.

The Pope hereupon dispatch'd his Legate *Gallo* or *Wallo* to the *French* King, requiring him to prevent his Son *Lewis's* Enterprize against *England*, which was become the Patrimony of *St. Peter*, and to denounce the great Curse against all such as should enter into a Confederacy with the excommunicated *English* Barons. To which *Philip* answer'd, That King *John* could not transfer his Kingdom to the Pope without the Concurrence of his Barons. The *French* Nobility also declar'd they would eternally maintain, That no King, or other Potentate, by his sole Authority, could alienate or transfer his Kingdom to another, and thereby enslave his People. Prince *Lewis* vow'd he would run the Hazard of the Pope's Excommunication rather than desert the Cause of the *English* Barons who had invited him over, and soon after set sail for *England* with six hundred Ships and eighty Boats, landing at *Sandwich* in *Kent* without any Opposition from King *John*, and was there join'd by the Barons in his Interest; but being assur'd that *Alexander* Abbot of *St. Austin's* at *Canterbury*, had Orders to excommunicate him and all his Adherents, he wrote a Letter to the Abbot, wherein he observes, that as King *John* obtain'd the Crown by the Election of the Barons, the same Body might depose him, and that the Crown was now devolv'd upon himself (*Lewis* the Dauphin) by his Marriage with King *John's* Niece as well as by the Election of the *English* Nobility; but the

the Abbot, without regarding his Pretences, pronounc'd the Sentence of Excommunication against Prince *Lewis* and all the Forces he brought with him.

King *John* fearing his Mercenaries, who were most of them Subjects of *France*, might betray him or desert to the Dauphin, retir'd from *Dover* towards *Winchester* on the Approach of the *French* Army, having first put a strong Garrison into *Dover Castle*, commanded by the famous *Hubert de Burgh*. Prince *Lewis* thereupon march'd forward and laid Siege to *Rocheſter*, which surrendring after a short Siege he continu'd his March to *London*, where the Barons swore Allegiance to him after he had taken an Oath to restore them their Estates, and govern them by their antient Laws. Here he made *Simon Langton*, the Brother of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, his Chancellor, who being exasperated at the Pope's denying to confirm him in the Archbishoprick of *York*, perswaded *Lewis* not to regard the Pope's Authority, but order Divine Service to be perform'd notwithstanding the Interdict, with which that Prince readily comply'd.

From *London* *Lewis* march'd again into the Southern Counties, reducing most of the Fortresses which were possels'd by King *John's* Adherents in *Kent*, *Surry*, *Sussex* and *Hampshire*; but the strong Castle of *Dover* baffled all his Attacks. While he lay at the Siege of this Place *Alexander* King of *Scots* came and join'd him with a good Body of Troops, and did Homage for the Lands he held in *England*; whereupon both *Lewis* and the Barons engag'd not to make Peace with King *John* without his Concurrence.

Arrives
at Lon-
don.

Lewis
brings
the Sou-
thern
Counties
under his
Power.

1216.



The Forces of *Lewis* and the Barons having been for some time superior to those of King *John* in the Field, took full Revenge on the King's Friends, burning and plundering his Adherents with no less Fury than the Barons Vassals had been ravag'd while the King was Master of the Field; but King *John* observing at length that the Enemy was taken up with the Sieges of *Dover* and *Windsor*, assembled all the Forces he could draw together, and once more plunder'd the Barons Estates; whereupon they were oblig'd to raise the Siege of *Windsor* and march to defend their Tenants whom the King was persecuting in *Norfolk*, *Suffolk* and elsewhere.

The Barons weary of the French Tyranny.

Many of the Barons about this time, either mov'd by their Losses or the Insults of the *French*, who are always insolent and imperious whenever they are Successful, began to think of making their Submission to their natural Sovereign; and indeed it was high time if the following Account has any Truth in it, for it is reported that the Lord Viscount *Melun*, a *French* Nobleman, lying upon his Death-bed at *London*, declar'd to some of the *English* Barons, that *Lewis* had given his Oath to sixteen *French* Noblemen who attended him in this Expedition, that when he should have made a compleat Conquest of *England*, he would banish all those who had oppos'd King *John*, as Traytors to their Country, and destroy their Families; and advis'd the *English* Barons to provide for their Safety before it was too late, for they might depend on the Truth of what he related as he was a dying Man.

Whether there was any thing in this Story or not, 'tis generally agreed that if King *John*

1216.

John had liv'd a little longer he would have seen his Affairs take another Turn : But before he was appriz'd of the Inclination of the Barons to return to their Duty, being apprehensive he should not be able to defend himself against their united Forces at *Lynn*, where he resided and kept his Treasure with the Regalia, he march'd from thence towards *Lincolnshire* over the great *Wash* which divides that County from *Norfolk*. Before the King left *Lynn*, however, as a Reward of their Loyalty he made it a Mayor Town, and conferr'd large Privileges on the Corporation : He gave them also his Sword, which they still pretend to shew us. The King pass'd the *Wash* with most part of his Army in pretty good Order, but the Tide coming in sooner than was expected, he lost all his Baggage, Treasure, Regalia and some of his Troops, and either by the Fatigue of the March, or Concern for his Loss, fell ill of a Fever at *Swineshead Abbey*, and the next Morning not being able to ride on Horseback was carried in a Litter to *Newark*, where finding his Fever increased, and a Flux attending it, and apprehending his Distemper would carry him off, he appointed his Son *Henry*, then about ten Years of Age, his Successor ; after which he receiv'd the Eucharist, and declar'd he was in Charity with his Enemies, and died three Days after his Arrival at *Newark*, being the 18th of *October*, in the 51st Year of his Age, and the 18th of his Reign, *Anno 1216*. He was buried according to his Desire in the Cathedral of *Worcester*, where his Tomb is still to be seen. As to the Story of his being poison'd by a Monk of *Swineshead Abbey* while he continu'd there, I find our best Historians give no credit to it.

King
John
loses his
Baggage.

He gets
a Fever
and dies.

There

1216.
His Character.

There is in all Mankind a mixture of good and bad Qualities, and yet whenever we attempt a Character, we either paint an Angel or a Devil; the readiest way of coming at a Prince's Character who liv'd so long before us, is to consider such of his Actions as the generality of Writers are agreed in, without regard either to the Flatteries of his Friends, or the malicious Insinuations of his Enemies. It must be acknowledg'd, that *John* during the Reign of his Brother *Richard* acted a base and treacherous part, endeavouring to usurp his Throne in his Absence, using all Arts to make him a Prisoner for Life, and confederating with his Brother's and the Nation's most inveterate Enemies. These Attempts against his Native Country and his Sovereign, discover a restless and insatiable Ambition, but are by no means Signs of Laziness and Indolence, with which his Enemies also charge him, any more than the Briskness with which he carried on the War with *France* in the beginning of his Reign are, when he compell'd *Philip*, a Prince of no mean Conduct and Resolution, to fly before him. Another Instance of King *John*'s Spirit and Activity, as well as Courage, was the brave Opposition he made to the See of *Rome*, when the Pope would have forc'd an Archbishop of *Canterbury* upon him; he despis'd all the Threats and Censures of the Church, and maintain'd his Ground for six Years with inimitable Firmness, till the Court of *Rome* found means to corrupt his own Subjects, and arm all the *Christian* World against him; then indeed he had no Choice left, but either to suffer himself and his Kingdom to be enslav'd by *France*, or to submit to the Pope;

if he had suffer'd *Philip* to seize the Crown of *England*, the Nation would probably have become a Province of *France*, and underwent the Fate of other conquer'd Kingdoms, without the least hopes of recovering its Liberties; on the other hand, a formal Surrender of his Crown to the Pope, with an Assurance of his being reinstated in the Government at the same Instant, tho' it was an Article hard of Digestion to a Sovereign Prince, yet in reality, had little more in it than the satisfying the Pope's Pride; the Laws ran in the same Channel as before, and we find at this very time the King regulated the Civil Government of *London*, and most of the other Corporations of the Kingdom, in the manner we see them at this Day; he also reduc'd *Ireland* to a settled State, and establish'd the *English* Laws and Government in that Kingdom, which is of much greater Advantage to us now, than the Provinces he lost in *France* would have been, which only engag'd the Nation in perpetual Wars.

The Death of his Nephew *Arthur* Duke of *Bretagne* indeed lies heavy upon his Memory, and he was justly punish'd for it in his Life-time; it was this that lost him his Reputation in *France*, and occasion'd the Revolt of those Provinces, more than any other Piece of Misconduct; more than the suppos'd Indolence, which our Historians after one another so much complain of. And here I can't but observe the Inconsistence of one part of the Charge brought against this Prince with another, they relate, that 'He was insatiable
' in his Lusts, debauching the Wives and
' Daughters of the Nobility of what Quality
' soever.'

1216.



‘soever,’ and at the same time they represent him as the fondest Husband, and the most uxorious Man alive; they ascribe the Loss of *Normandy* to the Passion he had for his Queen the beautiful *Isabella*, ‘with whom,’ they tell us, ‘he shut himself up, regardless of the Conquests the *French King* daily made in his transmarine Dominions.’

As to his bringing over Foreign Troops to revenge himself on his own Subjects, as his Enemies charge; this Transaction is set in various Lights, according as the respective Writers are bias’d by their Inclinations or Prejudices; whereas the Fact was no more than this, The King and the Barons had for some time contested in whom the Sovereign Power shou’d be lodg’d, and as the Barons and their Vassals constituted great part of the Militia of the Kingdom, we find them at the Interview at *Runnymede*, in a Condition to impose what Terms they pleas’d on the King, insomuch that they oblig’d him to declare that four and twenty of their Number, to be elected by themselves, should be Judges of all Controversies between the King and them, with an Authority to seize upon his Castles and Palaces, and Demesn Lands, and even to dethrone him, and absolve his Subjects from their Allegiance, whenever they apprehended they had not Justice done them; which was, as he rightly observ’d, to make him their Slave, and in these Circumstances he invited over Foreign Forces, in order to defend his Prerogatives. These Troops no doubt did commit great Ravages and Devastations on the Estates of the disaffected Barons; but what Prince is there who should be

be thus forcibly depriv'd of his Sovereignty by his Subjects, that would not be tempted to call in Foreign Assistance? Besides, the Barons who complain'd of it, did the same thing or worse, They submitted to a Foreign Prince, and acknowledg'd him for their Sovereign, on Condition he would bring over an Army and dethrone their native King: The Consequence of which, if it had succeeded, would have been the enslaving themselves and their Posterity And while those Foreigners remain'd here, it appears they exercis'd no less Cruelties on the King's Subjects who remain'd faithful to him, than his Troops had done on the Vassals and Adherents of the Barons. And notwithstanding the Sloth and Inactivity with which King *John* is charg'd, in the last Scene of his Life, when the Barons were united against him, and *Lewis* the Dauphin brought over such a formidable Army to their Assistance, he appears to have acted with a Courage and Conduct becoming a distress'd King: As he was not in a Condition to keep the Field against these numerous Forces, we find he Garrison'd the principal Fortresses in the Kingdom, and Commanded a flying Army in Person, with which he harass'd the Enemy, while they were busied in Sieges. This he foresaw would diminish their Troops, and give his Subjects Time to reflect on their Rashness, in delivering up the Kingdom to a *French* Power: And accordingly we see that while *Philip* was taken up with the Siege of *Dover*, the Barons were just upon the point of returning to their Duty. Had the King liv'd a very little longer, he would probably have been establish'd on his Throne by those very Barons who had oppos'd him, more

1216.

firmly than ever. And however he is charg'd with Prophane and Atheistical Speeches, we find in the last Moments of his Life he behav'd very much like a Christian, expressing a due Sense of his Failings, and dying in Charity with all Mankind: And in his Lifetime he founded the Abby of *Beaulieu* in *Hampshire*; an Abby of Black Monks at *Winchester*; the Monastery of *Farringdon*, and that of *Hales Owen* in *Shropshire*, besides several other Religious Foundations which he re-edified and enlarg'd. As to that monstrous Relation of his offering to transfer his Kingdom to the *Saracen* Emperor of *Barbary*, I give no manner of Credit to it, because it is impossible to suppose that any Prince at that Distance from *England*, could have been at all serviceable to him in his Designs; he might be guilty of a rash Expression, and say he would rather submit to the *Saracens* than the Pope, and this might be magnified by the Monks his Enemies; but had there been any such form'd Design, and a Treaty concerning it, as is pretended, we should have met with some Traces of it among our Records, as we do of other Treaties and Acts of State that were made in the same Reign.

His Person.

As to the Person of this Prince, Historians only inform us, that he was moderately tall, and enclining to Fat, and had a four unpleasant Countenance.

His Title.

King *John* has by many been deem'd a Ufurper, because his Nephew *Arthur* Duke of *Bretagne*, and *Eleanor* his Sister, the Son and Daughter of his elder Brother *Jeffery*, were living when *John* mounted the Throne: But if the Kings of *England* had then a Right to dispose of the Crown by Will, as the Kings
of

of *Spain* have at this Day, then may *John* 1216.
 be reckon'd in the Number of our Kings *de*
Jure; for *Richard* certainly appointed him his
 Successor. And it is strange so many of our
 Princes should take upon them to limit the
 Succession, and so many of 'em claim the Crown
 as Testamentary Heirs, if it was not appre-
 hended in those Days, that the Reigning
 Prince had a Power of appointing his Suc-
 cessor.

It is granted, that the King at this Day
 cannot break into or alter the Succession
 without Consent of Parliament; because he is
 not now vested with the Legislative Authority,
 as the first *Norman* Kings were. As this
 Power is lodg'd in the King and Parliament,
 who have limited the Succession of the Crown,
 the King alone, nor any other Power less
 than that which made it, can alter it.

The Taxes in this Reign, were a Scutage Taxes.
 of two Marks for every Knight's-Fee in the
 Year 1199. In the Year 1200 the King
 had 3 s. of every Hide or Plough Land. In
 the Year 1201 he had two Marks of every
 Knight's-Fee, who had License to stay at
 home. In 1203 he took a seventh part of
 all the Earls and Barons Goods that left him
 in *Normandy*. At an Assembly of the States
 in 1204 a Scutage of two Marks and a half
 was granted him on every Knight's-Fee. In
 1205 he levy'd a vast Sum of Money upon
 the Earls and Barons that refus'd to follow him
 beyond Sea. In 1207 he took a thirteenth
 part of all Moveables, as well of Laicks as
 Ecclesiasticks. In 1210 he forc'd from the
 Abbies and Monasteries 140,000 l. In 1211
 he had two Marks Scutage of every Knight's-
 Fee. In 1214 he took three Marks of every

1216. Knight's-Fee that was not with him in
 Poison.

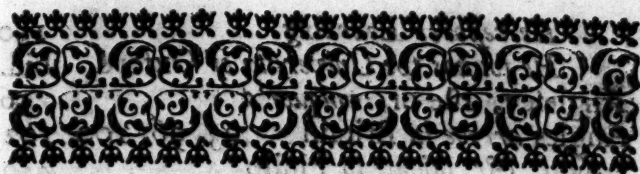
His Mar-
 riages
 and Issue.

King John's first Wife was *Alice*, the Daughter of *Hubert* Earl of *Morton*, by whom he had no Issue. His second Wife was *Avice*, Heiress of the House of *Gloucester*, by whom having no Issue, he divorc'd her on Pretence of Consanguinity. His third Wife was *Isabel*, Daughter and Heiress of *Amyer* Earl of *Angoulesme*, contracted before to *Hugh le Brun* Earl of *March*; by this Wife he had his eldest Son *Henry*, who succeeded him, and *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, his second Son, afterwards King of the *Romans*. He had also three Daughters by her, 1. *Joan*, married to *Alexander* II. King of *Scotland*. 2. *Eleonor* married to *Simon* Earl of *Leicester*. 3. *Isabel*, his youngest Daughter, married to the Emperor *Frederick* II. Besides which he left two Natural Sons, viz. *Geoffry Fitz-roy* and *Richard*, and one illegitimate Daughter nam'd *Joan*, married to *Llewellyn* Prince of *Wales*.

It is observ'd that Wheat in this Reign was sold from 18 d. to 6 s. the Quarter; *Rotbelle* Wine at 20 s. the Ton; Wine of *Anjou* 24 s. per Ton; and the best *French* Wines at 26 s. 8 d. per Ton.



THE



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